

ANNUAL
REPORT.

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT
OF COLORED PEOPLE.

Fourth Annual Report
1913



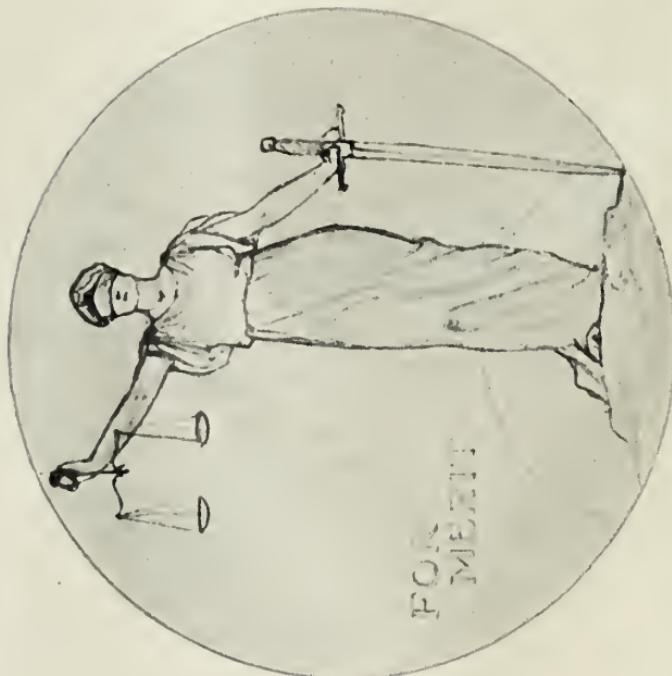
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT
OF COLORED PEOPLE.

Incorporated May 25, 1911

OFFICIAL ORGAN—THE CRISIS

Fourth Annual Report
January, 1914

70 FIFTH AVENUE
New York City



The bequest of
Daniel Murray,
Washington, D. C.
1925.

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ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR 1913

IT IS my privilege as Chairman of the Board of Directors to report to this annual meeting the gratifying fact that we have more than doubled our membership during the past year, having twenty-four branches and over 3,000 members, as against eleven branches and 1,100 members last year. To the Secretary I shall leave the duty of reporting in fuller detail upon our organization, but I must add that at headquarters here in New York we have a staff of fourteen employees. Of these the National Association, as contrasted with *The Crisis*, our magazine, carries its own staff of five—the Secretary, the Attorney, two stenographers and one clerk. Besides these, we pay the salary of the editor of *The Crisis*, one-half of his secretary's salary and one-half the bookkeeper's. In addition, we have a contract with an expert to watch legislation for us in Washington. All our permanent employees except two are colored. The largest salary paid is that of the editor of *The Crisis*; three salaries are under \$40 a month, but we are looking forward to the time when we shall be able to make the minimum \$12 a week. To have supported this salary budget, in addition to our annual office expenses, while dependent entirely upon contributions and membership fees, is nothing short of remarkable, and particularly if it be recalled that the bulk of our membership is of the \$1 class, and that the Association has not the advantage of offering something immediately tangible to its supporters. *The Crisis*, of course, does offer an immediate return to its subscribers.

The real miracle of the year's work, however, is that we are able to report the Association out of debt with a balance of \$1,200 in bank. This fortunate situation and the paying off of a debt of \$1,000, which has been a millstone about our necks, are the result

of the magnificent work of the Committee of Fifty and More, which has been working under the direction of the District of Columbia branch. As the President of that branch is here to speak in person, I shall simply take this opportunity to express for the Association, for the Board of Directors, and for myself personally, our heartfelt gratitude and appreciation of the accomplishments of this committee, and for the work of the branch under Mr. Grimké's leadership. With a Southern administration in power, the District of Columbia branch occupies a strategic position. It has done magnificent work. Indeed, we regard these developments in Washington as the greatest achievement of the past year. The wonderful spirit which has animated our Washington friends and members cannot be too warmly appreciated and should be an inspiration to all our branches. It is the more remarkable because so many men and women in Washington are employed, either by the Federal government or in the schools, and whoever stands on our militant platform is likely to endanger his or her position.

To return to our organization at headquarters, on November 1 the Association engaged as its attorney Mr. Chapin Brinsmade, a graduate of the Harvard Law School, and since 1911 a member of the New York bar, to assist the Legal Committee in carrying on its work, which had increased so much it was necessary to have one man who could devote his entire time to this most important work. Mr. Brinsmade will himself report upon the legal work in hand. His joining the staff was one of the reasons for the coming removal of the offices of the Association to the Educational Building, at 70 Fifth Avenue, since we have again outgrown our office space.

Turning from the work of organization, the National Association, during the year 1913, has continued the fight against race discrimination, for which it alone has the necessary machinery. The past year has been characterized by a flood of discriminatory legislation—anti-intermarriage bills, "Jim Crow" bills,

segregation ordinances in cities and segregation in the Federal departments at Washington. Everywhere we have witnessed efforts to officialize caste. The anti-intermarriage bills appeared almost simultaneously in Congress and in the legislatures of California, Colorado, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Nebraska, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Washington and Wisconsin. In only one State, Nebraska, did the bill get through, and here the act as passed merely amended the law then in force, by extending its provisions to include Chinese and Japanese, and by enlarging its application to persons of African descent by making the percentage of African blood one-eighth instead of one-fourth, as in the old act. The Association was unable to accomplish anything in this State because it had no branch there, and was unable to get into touch with any friends. To the legislatures of all the States mentioned the Association sent the following formal protest signed by its officers, setting forth its position in firm but conservative terms:

March 8, 1913.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People earnestly protests against the bill forbidding intermarriage between the races, not because the Association advocates intermarriage, which it does not, but, primarily, because whenever such laws have been enacted they become a menace to the whole institution of matrimony, leading directly to concubinage, bastardy and the degradation of the Negro woman. No man-made law can stop the union of the races. If intermarriage be wrong, its prevention is best left to public opinion and to nature, which wreaks its own fearful punishments on those who transgress its laws and sin against it. We oppose the proposed statute in the language of William Lloyd Garrison in 1843, in his successful campaign for the repeal of a similar law in Massachusetts:

"Because it is not the province, and does not belong to the power of any legislative assembly, in a Republican government to decide on the complexional affinity of those who choose to be united together in wedlock; and it may as rationally decree that corpulent and lean, tall and short, strong and weak persons shall not be married to each other as that there must be an agreement in the complexion of the parties."

We oppose it for the physical reason that to prohibit such intermarriage would be publicly to acknowledge that black blood

is a physical taint, something no self-respecting colored man and woman can be asked to admit. We oppose it for the moral reason that all such laws leave the colored girl absolutely helpless before the lust of the white man, without the power to compel the seducer to marry. The statistics of intermarriage in those States where it is permitted show this happens so infrequently as to make the whole matter of legislation unnecessary. Both races are practically in complete agreement on this question, for colored people marry colored people, and white marry white, the exceptions being few. We earnestly urge upon you an unfavorable report on this bill.

(Signed) OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD,
Chairman Board of Directors.

(Signed) W. E. B. DU BOIS,
Director of Publicity and Research.

In many cases the Association was able to do effective work quietly through members and friends who were able to interest individual legislators. In Illinois, Michigan, Kansas and Washington the Association moved through its branches, the work accomplished through the Chicago branch being particularly brilliant, for in Illinois they had a variety of discriminating legislation to fight—the “Jim Crow” bill, the “full-crew” bill, which, if passed, would have deprived 143 colored chair-car porters of their positions, and no less than five bills relating to intermarriage—all of them finally smothered in committee. In Kansas the bill was defeated largely through the efforts of the Kansas City branch. In Michigan the Detroit branch sent several representatives to appear before the committee. Father Bagnall and Mr. Warren, the militant attorney for the branch, made most eloquent appeals with great effect. In Iowa the Association co-operated with friends in defeating a first and then a second bill. In Ohio the contest was close, and Dr. Mason, our organizer, worked vigorously in arousing sentiment against the bill, appearing personally before the committee which had it in charge.

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Mr. Charles H. Studin	Mr. D. Macon Webster
Mr. William M. Wherry, Jr.	Hon. William S. Bennet
Mr. Elbridge L. Adams	Mr. Charles A. Boston

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Mr. Charles H. Studin	

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Rev. R. R. Wright, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.

The report of our Attorney will tell of the "Jim Crow" bills before the United States Supreme Court and of the "grandfather" case before the same court; also of the fight on the segregation ordinances in Baltimore and in other cities. I would only state here that it is encouraging to note that in our fight on all these questions we sometimes find the best Southern sentiment on our side. Dr. Kelly, the famous surgeon of Johns Hopkins University, stands firmly against segregation in Baltimore. Dr. Dillard, of the Jeanes and Slater Funds, has said that if he were colored the "Jim Crow" car alone would drive him out of the South. Dr. Scroggs, at the Southern Sociological Congress in Atlanta, spoke out plainly in regard to the unfair treatment of Negroes by common carriers in the South. A reprint of this address, with a reprint of an editorial from the New York *Evening Post*, was sent to over 600 editors in the South, with the request that they comment upon it in their papers. Copies of both may be obtained at the offices of the Association. The threatened farm segregation in the South is the subject of a paper by Dr. Du Bois, printed on page 66 of this annual report.

The recent effort of the present administration to segregate its colored employees gave this Association a great opportunity to put its program on record, an opportunity it was not slow to seize. When rumors first began to come from Washington, we delayed until the Chairman could secure an interview with President Wilson, as we feared by precipitate action to hurt the proposal for a race commission which was then before him. Mr. Wilson had already held out hope that this commission might be considered favorably. He finally stated, however, that he would be unable to undertake it at the present time. The scheme proposed was that a national race commission should be appointed by the President, modeled on the lines of President Roosevelt's Country Life Commission and President Taft's Industrial Commission. No expense to the government would be

involved, since the project was to be financed by private subscriptions to the extent of \$50,000 or \$60,000, the program being as follows:

A non-partisan, scientific study of the status of the Negro in the life of the nation, with particular reference to his economic situation. This study to include:

- A. Physical health and efficiency.
- B. Homes and property.
- C. Work and wages.
- D. Education.
- E. Religious and moral influences.
- F. Citizenship, legal status and participation in government.

It was suggested that the commission should consist of fifteen persons—five Southerners, of whom one should preferably be the chairman; five Northerners and five members of the Negro race. Suggested lists for selection were included in the proposal for the commission. Methods of work and co-operative agencies were also suggested.

Just as we were obliged to give this plan up it became necessary to take an aggressive stand on the segregation issue. The campaign opened by our releasing on August 15, to the press services, newspapers, magazines, etc., an "Open Letter to Woodrow Wilson," which appeared in *The Crisis* for October. The publicity this received was remarkable. Most of the leading papers and some of the magazines commented editorially. The Lexington (Ky.) *Herald* quoted the entire letter and printed a favorable editorial. The *Congregationalist* took a militant position, as well as the *Boston Advertiser*. This was followed by a series of meetings held under the auspices of our branches all over the country. The Secretary was then sent to Washington to make an investigation and her report was printed and sent to the news services, 600 dailies, the colored press, secret societies, fifty magazines, to members of Congress, etc. The Associated Press carried a 600-word abstract. Many papers printed the report in full. Several Congressmen wrote for a supply which they distributed among

their constituents. The United States Civil Service Commission sent for copies. Magazines like *La Follette's* and the *Public* gave it editorial comment.

We also attempted to secure publicity by requesting a few members of the Association, who had experience as journalists, to contribute articles to the magazines on the subject of segregation. It is significant that although contributions on almost any other subject from these same writers would have been considered, the uniform reply to their proposal was: "We will print nothing that may seem to reflect in any particular way upon the great work Mr. Wilson is doing," or again, "Your Association has not yet completed the industrial emancipation of the Negro, and therefore your program is not practical." But the editor of the *North American* recently requested your Chairman to contribute an article giving his views, and it appeared in the December issue of that magazine. Within the past week he was also asked to write a brief article on segregation in cities for the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, formerly a stronghold of Bourbonism. His speech in Baltimore and Washington has been printed and distributed widely, and the Association now contemplates publishing a symposium on the subject. This matter is in the hands of a committee.

We intend vigorously to push the fight against segregation in all its forms. In the case of the railway mail clerks we have no definite facts, although we have tried to investigate so far as possible the rumors brought to our attention, and have sent official protests to Mr. Burleson calling his attention to various newspaper statements.

That segregation often means elimination was shown by the discharge of certain colored elevator employees of the United States Treasury Department in Atlanta. The matter noted by us in the press was reported to us also by a correspondent. The Chairman immediately took it up with Mr. McAdoo, who replied that Mr. Blalock, the Collector of Internal Revenue

at Atlanta, denied that he had tried to eliminate colored employees from the service. The Secretary of the Association took it up with the original correspondent and soon received letters from the newspaper man who had been present at the interview, saying he would be willing to furnish an affidavit of the reliability of his statement of the facts. We are now considering sending our Attorney to Atlanta to get these affidavits and then hope to secure for the incident the publicity it deserves.

During the year we have continued our policy of inquiring into every incident reported in the newspapers or through our friends, where it seemed that colored people were being discriminated against or injured. Thus we have looked into the unfounded report of the segregation of colored children in the public schools at Atlantic City and Roslyn, L. I. We made every effort to inquire into the driving out of Negro farmers from Northern Georgia, and at one of our meetings one of the injured farmers told his story to a large audience. We have continued our protest against the drawing of the color line in the American Bar Association, and in connection with the anti-lynching bill in the Pennsylvania legislature. Your Chairman also continued his efforts to obtain proper prosecutions at Coatesville, but here we have also met with defeat; that is, we have been unable to induce the State officials to do anything further.

More gratifying is it to record the fact that through the efforts of this Association a colored orator was placed on the program of the celebration of the Perry Centennial, all mention of the colored people having been omitted in the first place, although colored sailors formed a large proportion of the crews of Perry's fleet. The Rev. Mr. Carey, of Chicago, a colored man, appeared on the program as a result of our efforts. We were able to bring about the admission of colored women to the woman's suffrage parade in Washington. We have carried to a successful conclusion a case of discrimination in a

well-known Eastern college where a young colored woman was practically being forced out because of her color. As a result of our interest in the matter, and largely because of the cordial co-operation of a member of the Association, who is a trustee of that college, the young woman has quietly been admitted to all the rights and privileges of this institution. Her own dignity and good sense in meeting the issue were partly responsible for the result.

All our work might be characterized as publicity work. In addition to that done through *The Crisis*, which, of course, is our official organ, and in addition to the ordinary channels of the press and magazines, our propaganda work has been carried on through meetings, conferences, etc. The year has been characterized by many successful meetings which have spread our principles from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast. Many of our branches held meetings to celebrate emancipation on February 12, Lincoln's Birthday. These included Chicago, Tacoma, Kansas City, Washington, Boston, New York, Indianapolis and Quincy. The speakers at these meetings included such notables as Jane Addams, Mrs. Henry Villard, John Jay Chapman, Henry Wilbur, Albert E. Pillsbury, Dr. Emil Hirsch, Senator Clapp, General Andrew S. Burt and others.

As already stated, many meetings of protest against segregation have been held under the auspices of our branches, and because of their remarkable character secured a wide publicity. The meeting held in Washington, within five blocks of the White House, on October 27, was epochmaking. The crowd has been estimated at from 5,000 to 6,000 people. The meeting was advertised for 8 o'clock, but at 7:30 the doors were ordered closed by the police. So dense was the crowd outside the church that when Dr. Holmes arrived it was necessary to lift him bodily over the iron fence surrounding the church, so that he could reach the side entrance leading to the auditorium. Because of the size of the crowd, Dr. Holmes

and Mr. Villard had to address an overflow meeting outside of the church.

The anti-segregation meeting held in Baltimore the week before was almost as great a success. The church was crowded to the doors. The speakers were Dr. Spingarn, Miss Ovington and your Chairman. Boston has held two magnificent meetings of protest. To the first of these, held in the Park Street Church, Governor Foss sent a letter protesting against the government's policy of race segregation. The speakers included Senator Clapp, Mr. Pillsbury, Mr. Cobleigh, of the *Congregationalist*, and Mr. Wilson, Secretary of the branch. The second meeting, held in Faneuil Hall, the cradle of the people's liberty, like the great Washington demonstration, crowded the hall to its utmost capacity, and the overflow filled the adjacent square. The speakers, Mr. Storey, Rabbi Eichler and your Chairman, were greeted with great enthusiasm.

Other noteworthy anti-segregation meetings were held in New Haven, where Mr. Crawford, one of our board, gave a most eloquent address; in Portland, Me., where a huge meeting was addressed by Dr. Mason; in Providence, where, as a result of Dr. Spingarn's work, we now have a branch. Our Northern California branch held an enthusiastic meeting, and in Tacoma a series of meetings was arranged for the surrounding cities. Resolutions from all these meetings were wired to the President. In New York a series of five meetings has been arranged, two of which have already been held. In addition, the public session of our annual meeting will deal with the subject of segregation.

There have been other meetings of the utmost importance, such as our annual one held in the Evening Post Building last January, and our three days' annual conference in Philadelphia in the spring. At the former we had the distinguished artist, Mr. H. O. Tanner, and his wife as our guests of honor. We were most fortunate also in having an address by Dr. Hammond, head of Paine College, Augusta, Ga.

There were art exhibitions of the work of Mr. Richard Brown, Mrs. Jackson and Mr. Harry Roseland, well known for his portrayal of colored life.

The annual conference in Philadelphia was a distinct success. The proceedings received considerable publicity in the press. At the opening meeting at Temple Keneseth Israel almost 2,400 people were present, and at the last session in Witherspoon Hall every seat was taken and many stood in the aisles. This conference considered work, wages and property as affecting the colored people. The eloquent address of Rabbi Krauskopf, in whose synagogue the first meeting was held, received an ovation. Mr. Henry Wilbur, Secretary of the Friends' General Conference, opened the discussion on wages and property, speaking with great feeling on the conditions affecting the Negro farmers and agricultural laborers in the South, from which he had just returned. Other speakers on this subject and on the problem of work and wages were President John Hope, Mr. John Mitchell, Jr., of Richmond; Mr. W. Ashbie Hawkins, Dr. Mossell and Mrs. Hunton. Perhaps the most significant note of the conference was "The New Southern Attitude," in which three prominent Southerners took part—Dr. Dillard, Dr. Odum and Mrs. Hammond. All their addresses reflected the new spirit in the South, Mrs. Hammond's being particularly remarkable for its sympathetic insight into actual conditions. At the last meeting in Witherspoon Hall, Mr. Milholland presided, and the speakers were Senator Clapp, Judge Stafford and your Chairman.

We were most fortunate at this conference in having our President, Mr. Storey, as presiding officer at all but one session. At this conference the Spingarn medal was announced. This gold medal, to the value of \$100, offered annually by Dr. Spingarn, and to be awarded to the highest and noblest achievement by an American Negro during the preceding year, will be reported upon more fully by the Medal Committee later.

In addition to the ways we have already indicated in which we are becoming known, it is gratifying to realize that we are also being recognized by other organizations which, with increasing frequency, invite us to participate in their conferences. This year, for example, we received an invitation to send a delegate to the World's Purity Federation, the International Conference on School Hygiene, the New York Conference of Charities and Correction, and the Conference on Race Betterment. For the second time we have received an invitation to co-operate with the National Conference of Charities and Correction, which will hold its annual session in the spring in Memphis, Tenn., and our members will be glad to hear that we have secured as a speaker on our platform there our good friend, Miss Jane Addams. For the second time a representative of our Association, Dr. Spingarn, attended the conference of the University Commission on Southern Race Questions. Last year, when Dr. Spingarn made inquiries in our name of this commission, he was invited by telegram to "come at his own risk." He replied: "I am coming." It is most gratifying to know that he was admitted to all the confidential sessions and again permitted this year to participate. Unfortunately, as all these meetings have been confidential, no one but Dr. Spingarn knows what actually transpired.

The Association is also proud and happy to record the organization of the Association of Negro Rural and Industrial Schools, comprising the principals or managers of small schools for colored people in the South, doing an industrial work after the fashion of Tuskegee and Hampton. There is great hope that this organization will be the means of obtaining recognition and financial help for those worthy institutions that now receive no appreciable aid from any of the large boards and organizations dealing with Southern educational problems. The secretaryship of this Association has been taken by Mr. Leslie Pinckney Hill, a member of the National Association. The plan

is to standardize the curricula of these various schools, introduce standard methods of accounting, systematize methods of raising funds, establish standards of merit, weed out the unworthy and the impostors, among those who come to the North for aid, etc., etc. Its promise of usefulness is very great indeed.

For the year to come an enormous amount of work presents itself. We desire to organize a publicity bureau which shall deal solely with the press under the direction of a trained newspaper man. A lecture bureau is a great need which we also hope to fill. Upon the legal-aid work we could spend many thousands of dollars. In short, the usefulness of the Association and its approach to an approximation of its ideals of usefulness depend entirely upon the enthusiasm and support of its members and the financial aid given to it week by week and month by month.

Respectfully submitted,

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD,
Chairman Board of Directors.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ATTORNEY FOR THE YEAR 1913

I SUBMIT the following report of legal work done for the Association during the past year. The matters referred to herein have been handled by members of your Legal Committee, by your counsel, Mr. Wherry, by the New York Vigilance Committee, and during the last two months by myself. As I have been here only two months, I have been able to do little more than make a beginning. This report has been made up after an examination of the files in the offices of these various attorneys and in the office of the Association.

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT CASES.—Three cases in the Supreme Court have received your counsel's attention during the year. *Guinn and Beal vs. the United States* involved the constitutionality of the "grandfather" clause of the Oklahoma constitution. This clause is the usual thing—it provides for an educational test to be passed by all persons before they can be registered as voters, then exempts from its provisions every one except colored persons. These exemptions are so worded as to avoid the appearance of discrimination on the ground of race or color. The appellants, State officials, were prosecuted and convicted under the United States Civil Rights Act for denying to colored citizens, under authority of the "grandfather" clause, the right to register and vote. On the hearing of their appeal to the Supreme Court, Mr. Moorfield Storey, our President, filed a brief in support of the contention of the Attorney-General that the "grandfather" clause is unconstitutional. The court has not yet rendered its decision, but we have every reason to expect that it will be in our favor.

McCabe vs. the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway, et al., was an equity action by citizens of Oklahoma, brought to secure an injunction against the enforcement of the "Jim Crow" law. In the Circuit Court the bill was dismissed without opinion,

and this judgment was affirmed in the Circuit Court of Appeals. It was then that your Association was applied to by Mr. William Harrison, attorney of record for the appellants, for assistance in carrying the case up to the Supreme Court. Your counsel had no opportunity to examine the record, which had not been printed, but relying on Judge Sanborn's vigorous dissenting opinion in the Circuit Court of Appeals, advised that the case was worth fighting. The majority had given as a reason for affirming the judgment that the provision of the statute which authorized railroads to operate sleeping cars, dining cars, parlor cars, etc., for one race exclusively, was constitutional. It was on this point that Judge Sanborn dissented. The Association therefore advanced \$180 for the expenses of printing the record, with the understanding that Mr. Storey should argue the appeal and control the preparation of the brief. For reasons which it is unnecessary to state the Association has since withdrawn from all official connection with the case. When I obtained a copy of the record I took it up with Mr. Storey in Boston. After an examination of the record Mr. Storey decided that he could not present the case to the Supreme Court. We have both assured Mr. Harrison of our readiness to assist him.

The Alabama & Vicksburg Railway Company, et al., vs. Morris comes to the Supreme Court on writ of error to the Supreme Court of Mississippi. The plaintiff, a white woman, recovered a verdict of \$15,000 against the railroad for permitting three colored men to occupy berths in the same car with hers—she contended that the "Jim Crow" law applied to sleeping cars. As the plaintiff was an interstate passenger, the right of a State to pass a "Jim Crow" law applicable to interstate commerce is also involved. The State Supreme Court, although it reduced the damages to \$2,000, affirmed the judgment. The assignments of error raise questions both of interpretation and constitutionality. Since the Supreme

Court seldom, if ever, has overthrown an interpretation of a State statute by the highest court of the State, it seems almost certain that the constitutional questions will be passed on in this case. We have, therefore, recently declined to bring an action to test the constitutionality of the "Jim Crow" law of Virginia as applied to interstate commerce. We have corresponded with the attorney for the appellant, and ascertained that he will welcome our co-operation on the appeal. We expect to be represented and to file a brief.

SEGREGATION PROBLEM.—Of the half-dozen or more segregation cases reported on by your counsel at the last annual meeting, only that involving the Baltimore ordinance has received their attention during the year. The proceedings as to the others have either gone no further or they have been handled exclusively by local counsel. The case of Maryland vs. Gurry, begun early in 1912 by the indictment of Gurry for violation of the ordinance, was allowed, for political reasons, to lag till October, when, largely through the efforts of Mr. C. Ames Brooks, of counsel for your Association, argument on the defendant's demurrer was finally heard. Judge Elliott of the Municipal Court sustained the demurrer. The prosecution appealed to the Court of Appeals. On June 24, 1913, the appeal was heard. The Attorney-General, Mr. Poe, Mr. Field, the City Solicitor, and Mr. Marbury, of counsel, argued for the appellant. For the respondent Mr. W. Ashbie Hawkins, attorney of record, and an attorney for the local branch of your Association, covered the law and facts fully in his brief. Mr. Brooks filed a brief on behalf of this Association and participated in the argument. He took occasion to state to the court the purposes of the Association and its reasons for appearing in the case. The court sustained Judge Elliott. A new ordinance has since been passed, and Mr. Hawkins and Mr. McGuinn, of the local branch, have the matter in charge. They write that they will keep

me in touch with developments. The segregation idea is spreading. Madisonville, Ky., has just passed a segregation ordinance, and one has been introduced into the lower house in Louisville. I am communicating with a committee of colored citizens of Louisville organized to oppose its passage. If it seems advisable I shall go to Kentucky shortly. It is very likely that we shall be called upon to fight several cases of this kind during the year.

"JIM CROW."—This problem has reached a stage where little can be done except by legislation to prevent segregation. With the exception of the commerce clause, all possible constitutional restrictions have been resorted to in vain to prevent it. But much may be done to secure equality of service, whether the inequality is authorized by statute, as in the case of the Oklahoma law, as to sleeping cars, or whether the railroads act on their own initiative. We have recently assisted Mr. Randall, a lawyer of Birmingham, Ala., in his action against the Street Railway Company for damages for refusing him a seat on its car when there were empty seats in the part assigned to white persons. Because of his color Mr. Randall was refused admission to the law libraries of Birmingham. We sent him memoranda of law on points involved in his case.

It seems to me that more can be accomplished along this line by appealing to the various public-service commissions than by bringing actions in the courts. I am trying to develop a plan of procedure in this direction.

EDUCATION.—The recent statute of Florida, making it illegal for white teachers to teach in colored schools, and colored in white schools, is perhaps the worst example of recent anti-Negro legislation. I am in communication with several church missionary associations which conduct missions in Florida, and expect to co-operate with them in testing the act should it be applied to private institutions.

LYNCHING.—We have investigated fully no cases since that at Coatesville.

I make it a regular practice, however, to carefully go over the clippings sent to us by a clippings bureau, and every time I find the report of a lynching I write to friends in the neighborhood for the facts or for the names of persons who can give them to me. So far all the lynchings reported have been so far South that we felt there was no chance of accomplishing anything by an extended investigation. In some cases I have been unable to get any answer to my letters. I have investigated in this way the following lynchings:

Warren Eaton, Monroe, Va., October 22, 1913.

John Cudjo, Wewoka, Okla., November 5, 1913.

John Talley, Dyersberg, Tenn., November 7, 1913.

Ernest and Frank Williams, Blanchard, La., December 16, 1913.

Cleve Culbertson, Williston, N. Dak., December 16, 1913.

Culbertson, it turned out, was a white man. The newspaper reporters were in conflict as to his color, so that I had to get this information from the sheriff.

ANTI-LYNCHING BILL.—Last year a bill intended to provide for the punishment of officers who allowed prisoners to be taken from their custody and lynched was introduced into the Pennsylvania legislature by Hon. Samuel B. Scott. The bill, which was drawn hastily, had several defects which prevented its being pushed. I am now attempting to draft a bill which will be unobjectionable on constitutional grounds, and which, at the same time, will accomplish the results intended. One constitutional difficulty is due to the provision of the Pennsylvania constitution that only one subject may be treated in a bill. It is difficult to make the statute broad enough to include all officers who should come under its provisions without dealing with more than one subject. Because it is generally held that the constitutional section, providing for the removal of elective officers by the governor is exclusive,

it seems that it will be unsafe to provide that officers shall lose their positions as a penalty for the offense. Another difficulty arises from the feeling held by all legislators that no officer should be held personally responsible unless he is proved to have been at fault. On the other hand, the necessity of proving fault on the part of an officer would probably make recoveries under the statute practically impossible where public sentiment is in sympathy with the lynching.

QUESTIONS OF DISCRIMINATION.—Waring vs. Childs Company was an action brought by Mrs. Waring by her attorney, Mr. Wilford H. Smith, under sections 41 and 42 of the Civil Rights Act. At one of defendant's restaurants, where she went with two white ladies, she was told that she could not be served except at a table in the rear. It developed on the trial that these rear tables were reserved for not only colored persons, but white persons who were not well dressed, or, as the manager testified, "anybody we would not exactly like." On the trial in the Municipal Court the complaint was dismissed, the court holding that the restaurant could properly make rules governing the seating of its patrons. On the appeal to the appellate term Mr. Arthur B. Spingarn, of your Legal Committee, filed a brief in which he made two points for a reversal—that regulations of the restaurant governing seating may not be based on distinctions of race or color, and that the evidence showed that colored people were not given equal facilities, but were classed with undesirable white persons. The judgment was affirmed without opinion and no further appeal was possible. The decision cannot be recognized as decisive of the point. It is squarely in conflict with Joyner vs. Moore-Wiggins Company, 152 App. Div. 266, and with Ferguson vs. Gies, a well-considered decision of the Supreme Court of Michigan.

Hull vs. the 86th Street Amusement Company was an action brought under the same sections. Mr. Hull, the plaintiff, applied at the 86th Street Theatre, a

moving-picture theatre, for 15- or 25-cent tickets, but was told that only 10-cent tickets, admitting to the peanut gallery, were sold to colored persons. Mr. Charles H. Studin, of your Legal Committee, was attorney for the plaintiff on the trial. A verdict of \$100 was recovered. The appellate term reversed the judgment. Mr. Studin has moved for a reargument, or in the alternative, for leave to appeal to the appellate division.

Exclusion of colored people from real-estate auctions has been a source of complaint during the past year. In the latter part of 1912 a complaint had been received of the exclusion of Mr. George W. Fields from the Foster-Schmitt real-estate sale. The Association's lawyers advised that the case did not come within the provision of the Civil Rights Act. Recently, when Mr. J. W. Durant was excluded from the Moss estate sale, we took the matter up with the auctioneer through Mr. Villard. He assures us that in the future colored people will not be excluded from auctions at which he has charge. We are taking proceedings to prevent such discrimination in the future. They have not yet reached a stage at which a report may be made.

I recently went to Wilmington, Del., to investigate the case of the Rev. Mr. Isaacs, a colored minister, who had been arrested on the charge of stealing a purse. The charge was absolutely unfounded, but the magistrate had held Mr. Isaacs for a higher court. Able counsel have the case in charge and Mr. Isaacs is determined that his name shall be vindicated by whatever proceedings shall seem necessary.

In going over the files for the purpose of getting up this report, I was impressed with the large number of cases where nothing was done, where obviously nothing could be done. Sometimes this was because the complaint did not state a case within the scope of our work. Often it came from too far away for our services to be of any value. In many of the cases the only help needed was financial, which the

Association was not in a position to furnish. But, perhaps, the greatest obstacle the Association has met, in respect to its legal work, has been the inability in a great number of cases to get any answer to its requests for information and its offers of help. The cases of the colored schools in Roslyn, L. I., and Atlantic City, N. J., will illustrate this point. When it was reported in the newspapers that two colored children were excluded from an Atlantic City school, your Secretary immediately wrote to the father of the children, and to several other prominent colored citizens of Atlantic City, but could get no answer whatever. Her only information came from the white superintendent of schools. We were helpless because we did not get the colored people's side. In Roslyn, newspapers reported a strike of the colored school children against their exclusion from the school. Unable to get any answers to our letters, we sent an investigator, a colored minister. He was unable to get any definite information.

These instances are not given by way of criticism. Often, doubtless, the newspaper reports are false, and there is nothing our correspondents can tell us. Occasionally, particularly in the South, it may be very dangerous for them to answer our letters. When Ben King, a Negro of Sherman, Tex., wrote an appeal for help from the jail where he was waiting execution on his conviction for murder, he stated that his witnesses, both white and colored, had been intimidated or bribed to keep away; that those of them that were well to do were afraid of a boycott if they helped him. It was not surprising that the people to whom he referred us for references never answered our letters. But however excusable, this neglect to answer does not make the Association's efforts to get in touch with such cases any easier.

Miss Ella E. Croker, of Indianapolis, complained to Mr. Wherry of two acts of discrimination. She was excluded from a theatre to which she had bought a ticket. She was also excluded from Fairview

Park, where she had gone as a member of a class in nature study, a part of the work required of her as a public-school teacher. She was advised that each of the acts complained of constituted a violation of the Civil Rights Act, Chapter 17, of the Revised Statutes of Indiana, and she was assisted in procuring local counsel to try the cases. I mention this to illustrate the method we hope to pursue in building up our work, and in bringing about some sort of harmony among those who are carrying on the fight against race discrimination throughout the country. We want to establish a chain of lawyers who will be prepared to handle all cases of this kind, co-operating with the central office. Each case that is hereafter reported to us we hope to make the occasion for making arrangements with a local attorney to act as a link in this chain.

A great many matters which have taken much time do not seem to call for any extended discussion here. I have felt that my work should be confined strictly to discrimination cases. It is not always easy, however, to decide when a case is reported whether or not it is one of discrimination. Often I have been forced to spend days investigating a case, only to find that it does not properly come within the scope of our work. For example, some time ago a lady complained that her furniture had been taken by the marshal under a writ. The papers showed that the seizure was in an action to foreclose a mortgage; her claim that she had never signed any mortgage seemed to be borne out by the papers in her possession. After an investigation, in which I looked up the mortgage in the records, went over the accounts, consulted with the plaintiff's attorneys, and had several consultations with the plaintiff himself, it developed that everything was regular—the mortgage had been executed and filed; in fact, the plaintiff's whole business was with colored people and it was apparent that he could never afford to treat them badly. By going to him personally I was able to make an arrangement for

the defendant by which she got her furniture back on reasonable terms. I mention this case merely to show that very often much time will be spent over a case only to find that the complainant should have been sent to the Legal Aid Society. Should I, however, without investigation, send such applicants to the Legal Aid Society, or advise them to get legal advice elsewhere, many cases properly within the scope of my work would be turned away.

An enumeration here of the complaints that I have received, and the cases where some little correspondence has been necessary, would be of no value. Scarcely a day passes without some new application, either in person or by letter, for advice or assistance. Sometimes in following up one report I am put on the track of something else that demands attention. In a letter, in response to a request for the details of a recent lynching in Oklahoma, I received word that the colored people of the neighborhood were enlisting in a back-to-Africa movement, conducted by one Alfred G. Sam. I ascertained that Sam's record has not been good, that he is wanted in New York on a larceny charge, and that as far as could be judged his whole present scheme is a fraud. I immediately tried to get enough evidence to warrant some action to put a stop to his activities, but without result. I was able, however, to warn my correspondent, and thus to save a good many persons from throwing away their savings. My correspondent's later reports show an astounding state of affairs. Sam is reported to have collected \$10,000 in one place in Oklahoma. It is stated that the colored people are leaving their farms in large numbers preparatory to starting for Africa. As, however, it is a case in which only the local authorities can do anything, we are helpless at this end. That the local authorities are aware of the condition is apparent from the fact that Sam has been twice arrested in Oklahoma only to be released.

I am gradually building up a card-index digest of the law relating to race prejudice. This should be

of great value to the Association in the future. To be able to answer any inquiry a person may make as to his rights in respect to an act of discrimination without having to look the matter up in the law libraries will be a source of much time saving. By the card-index method the digest can easily be kept up to date.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLICITY AND RESEARCH FOR THE YEAR 1913

THE activities of this department have been divided into lecturing, writing, promoting the emancipation exposition and the publication of *The Crisis*.

During the year the director has traveled about 8,000 miles and delivered seventy-two lectures and talks to audiences aggregating 41,000 persons, of whom 19,800 were white people and 21,200 were colored people. Seventeen of these talks were in and about New York, six in New England, six in border States, twelve were in the South, eight in the Middle West and twenty-three in the Far West.

Among the institutions addressed have been Smith College, Columbia University, Wilberforce University, Atlanta University, Howard University, University of Southern California and Pomona College. The largest audiences were at Orchestral Hall, Chicago; the People's Institute and Young's Casino, in New York; Smith College, Brooklyn Institute and the Los Angeles Theatre.

Writing has been confined to correcting and preparing for publication a history of the Negro race for Henry Holt & Company, a study of Negro morality for the Slater Fund and Atlanta University, and a few articles for periodicals.

In July I was appointed by the governor of the State of New York one of nine commissioners to prepare an emancipation exposition. I hesitated because of the time and work required, but finally accepted, considering that the constitution, aim and purpose of our organization could in no way be better shown than by aiding such an enterprise. As chairman of the committee of exhibits the bulk of the preliminary work and actual arranging of the exposition fell on me. We succeeded in carrying out an exposition which cost \$37,000, and was attended by

30,000 people. It was the largest assemblage of colored people ever held in the city and went off without accident. Its success, particularly in the pageant of Negro history, more than justified the effort put forth.

The permanent success of *The Crisis* would now seem to be assured. It began in November, 1910, with an edition of 1,000, and had an income of \$250 during that month. The edition of December, 1913, was 32,000 copies, and the income for the month was over \$2,100 cash. During the year 1913 *The Crisis* has published 351,800 copies and sold about 336,000 of them. It has received a total cash income of \$19,739.16, and expended it as follows: \$10,000 for publishing, \$3,500 for salaries and nearly \$5,000 postage and general expense, leaving a profit of \$1,465 (not counting the editor's salary).

We are selling to-day nearly 10,000 more copies than we were selling at our last report in January, 1912.

The Crisis staff, besides myself, is as follows: A business manager; an editor's assistant; an agent's clerk; a subscription clerk; a stenographer (one-half salary paid by N. A. A. C. P.); a shipping clerk; a bookkeeper (jointly with the other departments of the N. A. A. C. P.) and a force of 771 local agents.

The monthly expenses are approximately \$1,500.

From the first we have been sharing offices with the other departments of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and paying approximately one-half of the expense since March 1, 1913.

With the growth of the Association and the expansion of our business we are compelled to move to larger quarters, and we shall, on February 1, move to the beautiful Educational Building, 70 Fifth Avenue, where we shall occupy a suite of offices in close neighborhood to the executive offices of the Association.

This will involve some financial strain, and we shall need the most loyal support to enable us to meet the increased expense. Nevertheless, the outlook is encouraging and I believe that my prophecy of last year will eventually be fulfilled, viz., that by January 1, 1915, *The Crisis* will be financially independent. To-day it is self-supporting, with the exception of the editor's salary and one-half the salary of his stenographer, which are still paid by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

On a small scale, and in a department by itself, *The Crisis* has attempted some publishing of books; we now have our imprint of a life of "Norris Wright Cuney" and "A Child's Story of Dunbar," and "Hazel," by Miss Ovington. If the experiment succeeds we shall expand this part of our work.

The following pamphlets can be secured at the office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People:

"African Civilization." M. D. Maclean. (Reprint from *The Crisis*.) Price 5 cents.

"A Black Statesman of the Last Century." Francis Hoggan. (Reprinted from *The Crisis*.) Price 2 cents.

"Disfranchisement." W. E. B. Du Bois. Published by the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Price 5 cents.

"The Disfranchisement of Negroes." John Haynes Holmes. Price 5 cents.

"A Half Century of Freedom." W. E. B. Du Bois. Price 2 cents.

"Has the Emancipation Act Been Nullified by National Indifference?" Jane Addams. (Reprinted from the *Survey* for February 1, 1913.) Price 2 cents.

"The Heart of the Race Problem." Quincy Ewing. (Reprinted from the *Atlantic Monthly*.) Price 5 cents.

"How to Form a Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

"The Last Word in Caste." W. E. B. Du Bois. (Treats of the proposed farm segregation in the South. Reprinted from the Fourth Annual Report.) Price 5 cents.

"Leaving It to the South." Charles Edward Russell. Price 5 cents.

"A Letter to President Woodrow Wilson on Federal Race Discrimination from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

"Memorandum in Support of Proposed Amendment to H. R. 7951, Entitled, a Bill to Provide for Co-operative Agricultural Extension Work Between the Agricultural Colleges in the Several States Receiving the Benefits of an Act of Congress, Approved July 2, 1862, and of Acts Supplementary Thereto, and the United States Department of Agriculture." The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. (Memorandum in support of the Jones amendment to the Smith-Lever bill; asks that agricultural extension money be shared equally by blacks and whites.)

"The Negro as a Soldier." Brigadier-General Andrew S. Burt. Price 5 cents.

"Negro Training in the South." W. D. Weatherford. Price 5 cents.

"The Objects of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People." Oswald Garrison Villard.

"Racial Intermarriage." W. E. B. Du Bois. (Reprinted from *The Crisis*.)

"The Real Race Problem." Franz Boas. Price 5 cents.

"Science and Race Prejudice." G. Spiller. (Reprinted with additions from the *Sociological Review*, October, 1912.) Price 5 cents.

"Segregation in Baltimore and Washington." An address delivered before the Baltimore branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, October 20, 1913, by Oswald Garrison Villard.

"Segregation in Government Departments." Report of an investigation by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"Social Control." Jane Addams. Price 1 cent.

"Views of a Southern Woman." Adelène Moffat. Price 2 cents.

"What We All Stand For." Albert J. Nock. (Being an account of the Coatesville lynching. Reprinted from the *American Magazine*, February, 1913.) Price 5 cents.

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL ORGANIZER FOR THE YEAR 1913

JANUARY was largely devoted to holding "good-fellowship" meetings in the South, attended in some places by almost as many whites as Negroes. Several influential Southerners expressed their desire to lend their assistance in furthering this line of work. During the months from February to June many mass meetings were held in churches and with other organizations in the interest of the Association. These included Cincinnati, Springfield, Columbus, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Wilmington and Baltimore. Many new members and subscribers to *The Crisis* were secured.

During July and August the organizer addressed Chautauqua assemblies in Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska and Dakota on the race problem. In many of these places Senator Vardaman had preceded him with characteristic addresses on what he termed "The Impending Crisis." The opportunity to reply to him and to emphasize the work of the Association was not lost by Dr. Mason.

During the fall the organizer arranged mass meetings protesting against segregation in Cincinnati, Columbus, New Haven, Atlantic City and Portland, Me. At the meeting in Cincinnati ex-Senator Foraker, Rabbi Philipson, Superintendent Condon and Dr. Mason spoke. The meeting in Portland was a great success and received considerable publicity in the press.

When the anti-miscegenation bill was before the Ohio legislature, Dr. Mason went to Columbus and conducted a vigorous campaign for the colored people, interesting influential members of the legislature in his efforts to defeat the bill.

Dr. Mason's official connection with the Association has been terminated, and the office of organizer has been discontinued.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY FOR THE YEAR 1913

THE report of much of the work of the Secretary is incorporated in the report of the Chairman, and also in the report of the Treasurer, since the Association was without a Treasurer for about six months, and had no finance committee. The Secretary's work is the executive work of the Association, and has to do particularly with branches, separate reports of which follow. During the year these have increased in number from eleven to twenty-four. In addition, there are thirty locals which, with organization, can soon be chartered as branches. Our most Western outpost is Tacoma, Wash., and the most Southern, Talladega, Ala.

The work done by the Baltimore branch in connection with the segregation ordinance and the work of the Boston, Chicago and District of Columbia branches constitute a real record of achievement and are significant of the possible future development of our work as a whole. In the past the Association has been largely supported by contributions of generous white members. This is still true. If the Association is to succeed, however, it must be increasingly supported by its colored membership, which now constitutes 80 per cent. of those enrolled. It is therefore encouraging to report that more and more our branches are helping in a substantial way. Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, and particularly the District of Columbia branch, during the last year have sent generous contributions to headquarters.

The most important work the Secretary accomplished during the year was the organization of the District of Columbia branch. With the present administration in Washington it is most necessary to have a strong branch on the firing line. As a result of the first of a series of remarkable mass meetings which the branch held, the Committee of Fifty and More was organized. We regret that the modesty

of the organizers and of several of its most enthusiastic workers prevents our publishing the names of the entire committee. Each member pledged himself to contribute \$25. An open letter, stating the object of the committee and requesting co-operation, was written by one of the members and sent to the pastors of churches. This, with a confirmatory letter from a group of ministers, was widely circulated in churches, lodges of Masons, the Eastern Star, Odd Fellows and civic organizations and social clubs. Several members of the committee organized themselves into a sub-committee for the purpose of making addresses in the interest of the Association. The results were remarkable. From rich and poor, men and women, contributions poured in. The membership of the branch increased 600 per cent., and over \$2,700 were sent to the National Association. An additional check for \$500 was received in time to be announced at the annual meeting. It is the ambition of the committee to raise from \$3,000 to \$5,000 annually to help in the support of the work.

The work of this branch has had far-reaching results. Several of our white members who had sometimes doubted the interest of the colored people in our cause immediately upon hearing of the remarkable results secured by the District of Columbia branch doubled their contributions, one member raising his from \$500 to \$1,000.

When the Secretary made an appeal for contributions to the salary of the new attorney, seven branches—Indianapolis, the District of Columbia, Tacoma, Topeka, Quincy, Detroit and Baltimore—responded, each sending \$100. Bishop John Hurst, of Baltimore, personally added another \$100 to the contribution of that branch. Two of the branches—Tacoma and Quincy—had just been chartered, and at the time they gave their contributions consisted of only about twenty members each, all of these being colored. These contributions were raised by the branches especially as a tribute to Mr. Villard, who

had been anxious since the organization of the Association to engage the services of an attorney who could give his entire time to the work at national headquarters, and thus relieve the members of the Legal Committee, through whose volunteer services the work had been carried on.

The Secretary investigated segregation in government departments, a printed report of which has been widely circulated. She also made a trip in the spring, visiting several branches, in all securing new members and contributions. During the year between 1,200 and 1,300 new members have been brought in through the national office. In addition to these 600 were secured by the organizer, 300 of which came in through the Baltimore branch.

Aside from editorial comment in the columns of *The Crisis*, all publicity secured for the Association has been carried on through the offices of the Secretary. Here, every month, are prepared the notes which are printed under "National Association" in *The Crisis*. In addition, a determined effort has been made to secure mention in the daily press and in the popular magazines. Some of the results secured are mentioned in the report of the Chairman, page 12, and in the report of the chairman of the Press Committee, page 62. Perhaps even more important is the fact that we have the beginning of an organized publicity bureau. Lists of important dailies, morning and evening papers, lists of the chief weekly and monthly publications, special lists, including the religious and agnostic press, law journals used only for matters of special legal interest, labor papers, the radical press, a miscellaneous list called sociological, a list of the colored press and a list of 100 friendly papers form the nucleus of the important permanent records we are accumulating. These lists have been compiled from various sources, chiefly from the latest edition of Ayer's Newspaper Directory, which was checked by the chairman of the Press Committee, who gave the Association the benefit of his expert experience free

of charge. The Association subscribes to a clippings bureau and keeps a carefully classified record of all important clippings in which it is mentioned.

In May, 1912, the office boasted a solitary typewriter, the gift of the chairman of the board. The rest of the furniture was borrowed. The staff consisted of one \$30 clerk and stenographer. The Association also employed a bookkeeper part time. Now, in addition to paying for one-half the time of the bookkeeper, we employ an expert stenographer full time, one clerk and, with the legal bureau, share the services of a second stenographer. The office has modern equipment and will soon move from its present undesirable quarters to a modern office building.

BRANCHES*

BALTIMORE

OFFICERS

Dr. F. N. Cardozo.....	President
Mr. George B. Murphy.....	Vice-President
Miss Lucy D. Slowe.....	Recording Secretary
Miss Ethel Lewis.....	Assistant Recording Secretary
Miss Margaret Flagg..... (1405 Argyle Avenue)	Corresponding Secretary
Mr. E. B. Taylor.....	Treasurer

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mr. George B. Murphy, Chairman	Rev. W. E. Williams
Mr. W. T. McGuinn	Rev. G. R. Waller
Mr. D. O. W. Holmes	Dr. A. O. Reid

The Baltimore branch was one of the first branches to contribute \$100 toward the attorney's salary. It has also the honor of being the first branch to submit its report in printed form. Lack of space forbids our reprinting this in full. The following extracts from the reports of the chairman of the Executive Committee, the Rev. G. R. Waller, and the report of the attorney, Mr. W. Ashbie Hawkins, indicate the admirable work this branch is accomplishing for the Association.

REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Twenty meetings of the Executive Committee have been held, three branch meetings and seven public meetings. All of the public meetings were well attended. Among the speakers were Mr. Villard, Dr. Spingarn, Miss Ovington, Dr. Mason, Miss Nerney, Mr. W. Justin Carter of Harrisburg, Dr. Howard A. Kelly of Baltimore, and a number of the members of the branch. These meetings have proved a source of inspiration to the workers.

Most encouraging was the response to the appeal for funds to prosecute the Guth-Murphy case. Practically all the leading colored organizations and many individual citizens contributed to this.

Temporary headquarters have been secured at the Young Men's Christian Association on Druid Hill Avenue. As the work develops the branch hopes to have permanent headquarters which may become a sort of social center for the colored people in Baltimore.

In response to the invitation of the branch the National Association decided to hold its next annual conference in Baltimore

*Several of the branches were chartered too recently to report work accomplished. Only one of the older branches failed to report.

in May. The branch will do its best to help make the conferencee one of the best in the history of the Association. A more strategie place for a national meeting of this kind could not have been selected.

REPORT OF THE ATTORNEY

I beg to submit herewith a report of the matters coming to my attention since the Baltimore branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People elected me its counsel. Two matters of a racial character were already in my hands, viz.: The complaint of my own before the Public Service Commission involving the treatment of Negroes on the steamers of the Baltimore, Chesapeake and Atlantic Railway Company, and the case of the State of Maryland vs. John H. Gurry. On account of the public character and the importance to the race of the questions involved in them, the branch voted to take the responsibility of their future prosecution, and requested me to so act. The matter before the Public Service Commission was heard, and while the commission found the facts set out in the complaint to be true, the petition was dismissed. An appeal from the decision of the commission has been taken, and the case is now pending in Circuit Court, No. 2, of Baltimore City, with the prospect of a hearing thereon in a very few days. But recently I have had a conference with the Hon. Osborne I. Yellott, assistant counsel to the commission, arranging the papers, etc., so that the questions involved may be properly put before the court at the hearing.

The case of Gurry, in which the validity of the segregation ordinance was involved, was heard after a long delay before the Hon. Thomas Ireland Elliott, in October, 1912, and after a still further delay of six months a decision was rendered on April 24, 1913, declaring the ordinance inoperative and void. In due time the State, through the State's attorney's office, and that of the Attorney-General of the State, entered an appeal from the ruling of Judge Elliott, and the case came on for hearing before the full bench of the Court of Appeals at Annapolis on June 24, 1913. The State was represented by Attorney-General Edgar Allen Poe, City Solicitor S. S. Fields, Assistant State's Attorney Horton C. Smith, William L. Marbury and William L. Rawls. Mr. C. Ames Brooks, of New York City, one of the attorneys of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, filed a supplementary brief, and was present and assisted in the oral argument. In the work of drawing the brief filed, I was assisted by my law partner, Mr. George W. F. McMechen.

On August 5, 1913, at a special session of the Court of Appeals, a per curiam opinion was handed down sustaining Judge Elliott's decision. In this opinion, however, the court gave

occasion for the passage of another ordinance by alleging in effect that Baltimore City, under its police powers, has the authority to pass a valid measure, providing for the separation of the races in the matter of their residences, churches and schools. In due time the City Council passed another measure, and this will sooner or later demand some attention at our hands. It is as unconstitutional as its predecessors, and we will be derelict in our duty if we do not contest its validity to the end.

Prof. Thomas W. Turner, now of Howard University, Washington, D. C., but for some time secretary of this branch, filed a complaint with the Public Service Commission against the Baltimore, Chesapeake and Atlantic Railway Company, charging unjust discrimination against himself and Mrs. Turner, on a specific trip made by them on the lines of said railroad, at Thanksgiving, 1912, and general discrimination by this road against its passengers of African descent. At the hearing before the commission I was your representative and conducted Professor Turner's case. The hearing ended in a ruling by the commission ordering the railway company to remedy the conditions complained of, and instructing the railway company, so far as practicable, to provide equal accommodations for all of the patrons of the road. I learn that for some time following this finding by the commission that the railway company made some effort to abide by the order, but that the old conditions have now been revived, and travel on this road is as unpleasant as ever for Negroes. It rests with those who must use this road to see to it that these conditions are improved, and they cannot expect people who have only occasional use for the road to be very much concerned about them. I am prompted to say this because at the hearing we had to rely almost wholly upon the testimony of Professor and Mrs. Turner, who lived at the time in this city, and who, like the most of us, have but slight occasion to travel on the Eastern shore. I summoned several ministers and business men, a college president and an editor of a colored newspaper published in the territory traversed by the road, but of all those summoned (and all of them were directly concerned in the matter) one of them alone responded. Most of them neglected even to reply to letters sent them asking their aid and assistance.

During the summer, at the instance of a conductor of the Washington, Baltimore & Annapolis Railroad Company, a young man named James Jenkins was arrested, charged with violating the separate-car law. He was duly indicted, but has not been brought to trial. My appearance, as that also of Mr. W. T. McGuinn, was entered in the case at the instance of the president of the local branch, Dr. F. N. Cardozo. We had bail furnished for the young man by Mr. E. B. Taylor, our treasurer, and we stand ready to try the case whenever it is called for trial.

Charles Guth, a wealthy candy manufacturer, was arrested early in the month of September, 1913, charged with the murder of George A. Murphy, a colored chauffeur in his employ. First, at the instance of the family of the deceased, and then by direction of the president of the branch, I appeared at the coroner's inquest, and sought by all the means at my command to see that justice should be done in a case which to many seemed, then and now, a woeful miscarriage of justice. The coroner's jury exonerated Guth. Not despairing, however, Mr. W. T. McGuinn, who was associated with me, and I had several interviews with the State's attorney, Hon. William F. Broening, and after some delay he consented to send the papers in the matter to the grand jury. It is a matter of common knowledge that the case was dismissed. It is not to be supposed, however, that this is the end of the matter; for in a capital offense of this sort there is no statute of limitations, and if it can ever be shown, as many confidently believe, that Murphy was murdered Guth may yet have to stand trial.

On September 30, as the direct consequence of the new segregation legislation, and the inflamed state of the public mind produced thereby, George Howe, a colored man, was arrested for firing into a crowd of men and boys who were stoning his residence at 951 Hartford Avenue. He shot four boys, but they were not seriously hurt. At the trial of three of the cases, held on the following morning, at the Northeastern Police Station, before Justice George D. Dean, Howe was found guilty and sentenced to two months in jail in each case.

On account of the absence of one of the injured boys at the morning session, Howe was held for another hearing the same day at 3 p. m. Accompanied by Mr. William C. McCord, who had been retained by Howe's landlord, Mr. McGuinn and I, as representatives of your body, appeared at the station house at 3 o'clock. After a conference over the matter we agreed to enter an appeal from the ruling of the justice in the three cases already heard, and to pray a jury trial in the other. This we did. Through the generosity of Mr. W. H. Burkett, we were enabled to give bail and thus have Howe released. Otherwise, being a stranger and almost unknown, he would have had to remain in jail until his trial; and without the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People acting through its counsel, Howe would now be serving a term of eight months for no other crime than protecting his home from a miserable mob bound on doing him injury for assuming to live in a so-called white neighborhood.

On November 11 one of the cases came on to be heard before His Honor, Judge James M. Ambler, without a jury, and after a searching investigation of all the facts and circumstances sur-

rounding the matter, this impartial jurist quickly determined that a verdict of "not guilty" was the proper one to render, and it was done. Stets were promptly entered by the State's attorney in the other four cases.

REPORT OF SECRETARY AND TREASURER

Total receipt for Guth-Murphy case.....	\$214.04
To attorneys for Guth-Murphy case.....	100.00
Balance on hand.....	\$114.04
Received for general purposes.....	\$428.68
Expenses for general purposes.....	304.95
Balance on hand.....	\$123.73
Grand total balance on hand.....	\$237.77

G. D. McDaniels, *Secretary.*
E. B. Taylor, *Treasurer.*

BOSTON

OFFICERS

Mr. Francis J. Garrison.....	President
Mr. Joseph P. Loud.....	Vice-President
Mr. Butler R. Wilson, 34 School Street.....	Secretary
Mr. George G. Bradford.....	Treasurer

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mr. Joseph P. Loud, Chairman	Miss Adelene Moffat
Miss Maria L. Baldwin	Mr. Clement G. Morgan
Dr. Horace Bumstead	Mrs. May Hallowell Loud

The report of the Secretary, Mr. Butler R. Wilson, indicates that since the last meeting forty-six subscribers have been obtained for *The Crisis*; that the total membership of the branch is 336; that during the year thirty-three persons have been rendered legal aid without charge; that in addition to those reported by the Committee on Meetings and Publicity, twenty-seven other meetings have been addressed by officers of the branch; that 6,598 letters and circulars have been mailed during the year, and approximately 300 telephone calls have been answered and 200 calls made; and that the demand for information about colored people from schools, colleges, churches, lecturers and newspapers is constantly increasing.

As a result of the year's activity the Association has been extensively advertised, and its work is receiving increasing recognition. The work of the Boston branch has been greatly aided by clergymen and leaders of various organizations, who constantly express a desire for co-operation.

Splendid results have been accomplished through the Committee on Industrial Opportunity, the Committee on Meetings and Publicity and the Committee on Civil Rights. The Committee on Industrial Opportunity reports, among others, the following case of special interest:

A State board, which was merged with a commission of broader powers, did not take over its old employees. The newly organized body applied to the Civil Service Commission for a stenographer, and was sent two names from which to select. One of the candidates was white, the other colored; the former having made a higher per cent. in competitive examination. Various members of the new commission were interviewed by the Secretary of the branch and by a number of the Committee on Industrial Opportunity, who urged the selection of the colored applicant on the grounds of experience, of satisfactory service as a stenographer to the old board, and because of her thorough knowledge of the work to be done by the newly created commission. The colored candidate was appointed with a material increase in the salary she had received under the old board.

The Committee on Industrial Opportunity plans to compile a directory of colored men and women employed in and about Boston, with the object of being able to answer the objection of employers who, when asked to give work to colored people, often say: "I am not opposed to employing colored people, but have never done so, as it might make trouble with my white help." A portion of the money needed for the expense of the work on this directory has been contributed already.

No branch has held more numerous and successful meetings than Boston. The series of emancipation meetings culminated in a great meeting on February 12 in the Park Street Church. The branch launched its first public protest against segregation at a monster meeting in the same church, when the Hon. Albert E. Pillsbury, Senator Moses E. Clapp and other eloquent speakers aroused their audience to the necessity of fighting the apparent inclination of the government to officialize caste. A second meeting of protest, in Faneuil Hall, included among the speakers Mr. Storey, Mr. Villard, Rabbi Eichler and others. Hundreds were turned away from the doors, and the Cambridge Lyceum later held a meeting to accommodate the Cambridge people who were unable to obtain admission. Much interest in the Association has been aroused by small meetings held in the homes of members for the purpose of explaining the objects and needs of the Association.

The following cases illustrate the work of the Committee on Civil Rights:

A colored boy purchased a ticket for the swimming tank in the Salvation Army barracks, at the corner of Washington and

Brookline Streets, which he used for some time. Because one white man objected the privilege was withdrawn by the manager, who frankly stated the reason for his act to be on account of color. The Committee on Civil Rights called upon the manager and induced prominent citizens to write letters of protest. In the end he was compelled to yield, after the committee had proved to him that his act came clearly within the statute against race discrimination.

Another colored lad, a graduate of the Mechanic Arts High School, applied for admission to a well-known dental school. He was discouraged by the doctor in charge, who told him he would have to meet prejudice, and that he should go South to study dentistry. Through the efforts of the Committee on Civil Rights the boy was admitted, and the very next week became a member of the football squad. The prejudice in this case was entirely that of the doctor in charge of the school.

On the shields placed on the new building of the Boston Y. M. C. A., on Huntington Avenue, to commemorate its various athletic victories, is the name of a member of our Boston branch, a graduate of a Boston school, a Custom House official, a superintendent of a large Sunday school, a taxpayer and a highly respected citizen. For nine years he has been a member of the Boston Y. M. C. A., but when he applied for a ticket to the swimming tank several weeks ago he was refused because of his color.

The chairman of the Committee on Civil Rights and other officers of the branch went to the director of the Y. M. C. A. to claim for this young man the same treatment afforded to foreigners, who enjoy the benefits of the institution without regard to race or color. As a result the following letter was received:

BOSTON YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION
316 HUNTINGTON AVENUE

BOSTON, MASS., November 5, 1913.

BUTLER R. WILSON, Esq.,
34 School Street,
Boston, Mass.

DEAR SIR:

You will be interested to learn that the Board of Directors of this Association, at its meeting held last night, decided to reaffirm the basis of membership privileges, which has been in effect since its organization, namely, that any man of good moral character may be admitted to its privileges. Therefore, Mr. William H. Batum, who has always been a good member, and one whom we have been glad to have with us, will be allowed to use the new privileges, as well as the old ones, in the Association.

Thanking you for your interest, I am,

GEORGE W. MEHAFFEY,
General Secretary.

A young colored girl, a graduate of the Boston High School, entered a training school for kindergartners in a nearby city. It was not known for some time that she was colored. When it was discovered, the board wrote her aunt that she must leave because of her color. Friends were asked to exert their influence, and the Committee on Civil Rights advised the principal of the school that if their efforts were unsuccessful the school board would be requested to withdraw from the use of the training school the proportion of public money it received for its support. It was, however, unnecessary to take this step, as the following extract from the principal's letter indicates:

October 30, 1913.

DEAR MISS _____:

Since writing my letter to you, I have come to regard the admission of colored students into my school in a new light; I see now that it is not only a question of what I may think best, but that it is also a question of legal right. As long as I use the public schools as a part of my training, I should not make distinctions here as to race.

TREASURER'S REPORT

Balance from 1912.....	\$34.82
Special donations for Boston branch.....	125.25
From National Treasurer, rebate on membership.....	77.00
"Special fund" for Boston branch.....	245.00

Donations through Boston branch.....	\$482.07
Memberships	612.50
Subscriptions to <i>The Crisis</i>	445.00

	\$26.00

	\$1,565.57

Cr.

By printing and postage.....	\$183.57
By halls and speakers.....	97.50
By traveling expenses, officers.....	28.00
By clerical help.....	24.42
By miscellaneous	2.00
By "special fund work".....	30.00

By remitted to National Treasurer.....	\$365.49
By balance cash on hand for "special fund".....	780.00
For general work.....	205.08

	420.08

	\$1,565.57

Remitted to National Treasurer:

One year, to February 9, 1912.....	\$243.00
Nine months, to November 1, 1912.....	412.00
Fourteen months, to December 29, 1913..	\$655.00
	780.00

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGE G. BRADFORD,
Treasurer.

CALIFORNIA, NORTHERN

OFFICERS

Mr. Christopher Ruess.....	Acting President
Mr. Walter A. Butler.....	Vice-President
Miss Eva B. Jones.....	Secretary (1929 Linden Street, Oakland, Cal.)
Mr. James A. Hackett.....	Treasurer

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walter A. Butler, Chairman	
Mrs. H. E. De Hart	Mr. William N. Ricks
Mrs. Christopher Ruess	Miss Charlotte Anita Whitney
Mr. Cameron King	Mr. Thomas M. Jackson

This branch has held several large and successful meetings, and conducted a most vigorous campaign against segregation in government departments in Washington, by local agitation and by sending letters and telegrams to Congress. The work of the branch is carried on through various committees—Finance, Membership, Press and Education. A systematic effort is being made to organize the colored people about the bay.

CHICAGO

OFFICERS

Judge Edward Osgood Brown.....	President
Mr. S. Laing Williams.....	Vice-President
Mr. Thomas W. Allinson.....	Secretary and Treasurer (701 West 14th Place)
Mr. George R. Arthur.....	Assistant Secretary

DIRECTORS

Miss Jane Addams	Mr. Charles T. Hallinan
Dr. C. E. Bentley	Mr. Jenkin Lloyd Jones
Mrs. Emmons Blaine	Mr. Robert McMurdy
Miss S. P. Breckenridge	Mr. George Packard
Mr. Charles R. Crane	Mr. Julius Rosenwald
Dr. George C. Hall	Miss Garnetta E. Tibbs

The Chicago branch was a year old in November, 1913. Perhaps its real existence may be said to date from February 12 of that year when a monster celebration was held in commemoration of Lincoln's Birthday. Orchestra Hall, an auditorium seating 3,000, was packed to its doors and hundreds were turned away. The national prominence of the speakers, together with the wide publicity given the meeting by the local press, attracted all classes of citizens to the organization. Later, smaller meetings were held, and since October a regular campaign has been carried on among the colored people, which has resulted in a material increase in membership.

The Grievance Committee of the branch has been besieged with all sorts of complaints, varying from arrests for drunkenness to infractions of civil rights. Many of these cases have been referred to the Legal Aid Society, as the Grievance Committee confines its work so far as possible to matters of race discrimination.

Five cases were reported to the committee from the night school in the Wendell Phillips High School Building. Investigation proved that discrimination did exist. Through the assistance of Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, Superintendent of Schools, the condition was corrected.

Two complaints came from students in Chicago University, in regard particularly to service in the dining hall for women. Through the efforts of a member of the branch, who was also a teacher in that institution, a compromise was made which, though not wholly satisfactory, was a partial victory.

A young colored woman, who had secured a position as pianist in one of the playgrounds, through competition in a civil-service examination, was removed. After a protest from the Grievance Committee, she was reinstated.

Perhaps the most important work of the year was accomplished by the Committee on Legislation. To quote from the report of the chairman: "Race prejudice has been running like a prairie fire over Illinois this year. It was kindled by the 'Jack' Johnson case, fanned by the newspapers and blown into a small gale by the Bourbon public sentiment in the Southern half of the State."

Six bills directed against the colored people were introduced in the last general assembly. Four were against miscegenation, one for a "Jim Crow" car railway service and one, a full-crew bill, would have deprived 143 chair-car porters of their positions on the various trunk lines running in and out of the State. The full-crew bill was the most dangerous of them all. Adroitly drawn, it seemed upon its face to be a measure in the interest of the traveling public. Only when the lawyers on the Committee on Legislation scrutinized it was the real danger discovered. The Committee on Legislation, upon investigation, found that many members of the assembly were pledged to pass the bill by reason of pre-election promises. After all the facts were obtained, the assembly was sent a printed memorial by the committee urging the defeat of the bill. Through the efforts of the branch all the bills failed to be reported out of committee.

Several members of the Board of Directors of the branch have assisted in the scientific investigation of the condition of the colored people, which was made for the Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago. This was entitled "The Colored People of Chicago." The text is by Louise De Koven Bowen. This first appeared in the *Survey* of November, 1913.

CLEVELAND

OFFICERS

Mr. R. K. Moon.....	President
Mr. Chas. Leatherman.....	Vice-President
Mr. F. E. Young, 1256 East 83d Street.....	Secretary
Mr. C. F. Hunnicutt.....	Treasurer

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mr. Chas. Leatherman, Chairman	Mr. Albert Miles
Mr. N. Bonaparte	Mr. T. W. Cole
Mr. S. P. Keeble	Mr. Frank Perkins

DETROIT

OFFICERS

Mr. William C. Osby.....	President
Dr. A. H. Johnson.....	Vice-President
Rev. R. W. Bagnall.....	Corresponding Secretary (329 Antoine Street)
Mr. J. Chas. Price.....	Recording Secretary
Mr. Walter Johnson.....	Treasurer
Mr. Francis H. Warren, Attorney and Chairman of the Executive Committee	

The Detroit branch is one of the branches which did exceptionally fine work in fighting discriminatory legislation. The Rev. R. W. Bagnall and Mr. Francis H. Warren were sent to Lansing to appear before a joint committee of the house and the senate to protest against the proposed anti-intermarriage bill. As a result the bill was killed in the committee room, though members of the committee had before expressed their intention of voting for it.

Detroit had a peculiarly difficult local situation to meet because of the bitter prejudice aroused by a number of crimes which had been committed by a few white and colored people living in a disreputable section of the city. The result of the increase in discrimination was particularly discouraging in a city like Detroit, which had always offered exceptional opportunities to colored people. The prejudice took various forms. A police officer directed the arrest of all colored men seen in the company of white women. This was a serious restriction on the liberty of the colored people, since the officers often could not distinguish a fair colored woman from a white woman. The colored men so arrested were always detained without due process of law. In one instance a young colored boy was arrested in company with his mother, a very fair colored woman. Both were taken to the police station, where they were subjected to the most humiliating treatment, until they were able to prove their relationship. Current report credited

Commissioner Croul with this police order. The branch immediately took the matter up and has been advised that the demands it made hastened Mr. Croul's resignation. His successor has given assurances that no such arrests will be made during his administration. A committee from the branch requested the Police Commissioner to appoint a colored detective, since there was no colored man on the force, and such an appointment has been promised.

The branch protested against the reappointment of Mr. William Walker, the Poor Commissioner, since he had discriminated against colored patrons in his "self-serve" restaurants. Mr. Walker was not reappointed.

In drawing a panel jury for the trial of aldermen charged with grafting, the Jury Commissioner, Mr. Prochaska, pointedly refused to include any Negroes, saying that he himself would not like to be tried by a "nigger," and he did not think any other white man would. For this he was scolded by the presiding judge, but continued his policy. The branch requested the Governor to investigate this, and upon the advice of the State's Attorney-General the Governor expressed an opinion that the matter had already been decided upon by the Detroit courts. When it was pointed out to him that this was an error the matter was reopened and is at present under investigation.

Many civil-rights cases, including discrimination in theatres, cafés, restaurants, confectioneries and ice-cream parlors, have received the attention of the branch. Often when the only action possible was a letter of protest this has proved quite effective, as in the case when a letter was sent to the Northwestern Business Men's Association concerning their attitude toward the colored people in their neighborhood, which they had manifested by public resolutions protesting against their presence. The good conduct of the colored people residing there did much to overcome this prejudice.

One of the most pathetic cases of discrimination was that of a little colored child in the McGraw Public School. During a lesson in geography the teacher called her to the platform and used her to illustrate the supposed characteristics of the Negro race. It was pointed out that she had kinky hair, shiny eyes, a flat nose and thick lips. The child was humiliated and afterward ridiculed by her white playmates. The branch at once took the matter up with the principal of the school. The teacher denied any inclination to discriminate or to arouse prejudice, and apologized for what she called "a mistake of judgment." The principal had already reprimanded the teacher before the branch took any action.

The Detroit branch was one of the first to respond to the request of the National Association for a contribution of \$100

to the salary of an attorney. It took an active part in protesting against segregation in government departments in Washington, sending to Congress and to the President telegrams, letters and resolutions. It passed resolutions unanimously approving woman suffrage, and forwarded them to the Wayne County Equal Suffrage League.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

OFFICERS

Mr. Archibald H. Grimké.....	President
Miss Charlotte E. Hunter.....	Vice-President
Mr. W. B. Hartgrove, 1314 Corcoran Street, N. W.	Secretary
Mr. Garnet C. Wilkinson.....	Treasurer

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Miss Charlotte E. Hunter, Chairman	Mr. L. M. Hershaw
Mrs. Julia Layton	Rev. A. C. Garner
Mr. William McCary	Mr. Neval H. Thomas

The District of Columbia branch was permanently organized in March, 1913, in conformity with the spirit and purpose of the parent body. The membership of the branch is 400. During the year 1913 it received members, distributed by months, as follows: January, 5; February, 49; April, 35; May, 12; June, 55; October, 42; November, 33; December, 129; making a total of 360. It will be observed that while the membership for the six-month period, extending from January to June, 1913, increased by 156, the membership for the three-month period, from October to January, increased by 202, or more than 270 per cent. A comparison with the period from October to January of the preceding year, when thirty persons joined, shows an increase of nearly 700 per cent. These figures are interesting in that they show that the branch is reaching the people.

MEETINGS

During the past year the District of Columbia branch has held five regular meetings, one special meeting, one meeting commemorative of the fiftieth anniversary of the emancipation of slaves, and one meeting devoted to a discussion of segregation in the departments of the national government—a total of eight meetings. The semi-centennial anniversary meeting was attended by 2,000 persons, and the meeting of protest against governmental segregation by a crowd estimated to have been between

8,000 and 10,000 persons. These meetings have been addressed by Miss Nerney, Prof. Leslie Pinckney Hill, of Manassas, Va.; Rev. Walter Brooks, of Washington, D. C.; Rev. John Haynes Holmes, of New York; Mr. Villard, Dr. Spingarn, Judge Wendell Phillips Stafford, of Washington, D. C.; ex-Senator Blair and Senator Clapp.

The Executive Committee held fifteen meetings. It has arranged for January 6, 1914, a monster meeting to celebrate the birthday anniversary of Charles Sumner.

FINANCE

The branch has received in membership dues, contributions from mass meetings, contributions for legal redress and contributions for special funds nearly \$3,000, and has outstanding redeemable pledges amounting to over \$400. As a result of the protest meeting held October 27, 1913, a few citizens met and pledged themselves to raise or donate \$25 each toward a fund of \$1,000, to be raised by January 1, 1914, for the parent body. This group developed into a committee, known as the COMMITTEE OF FIFTY AND MORE, which, under the auspices of the District of Columbia branch, began a campaign that literally combed the city and suburbs. Clubs, sewing circles, secret organizations, citizens' associations, schools and churches responded liberally. One young man made more than twenty-five talks during this sixty-day campaign. The sum of \$1,000 has been swelled to nearly \$2,200.

The District of Columbia branch has the honor of being the first branch to subscribe its allotment to the support of a lawyer in New York. It has donated more than \$2,400 to the parent body, in addition to sending more than \$200 in membership dues. These receipts represent the loosening of the purse strings of colored people to finance their own struggle. It is doubtful, indeed, if the receipts for the year have been augmented by membership or contributions by white friends to the extent of \$10.

ACTIVITIES

The District of Columbia branch has fought no cases of discrimination against citizens of color in places of amusement or hotels during the past year. It has bent its energies toward spreading the doctrine of liberty and justice and arousing the lethargic condition of 100,000 people. It has waged a determined fight against governmental segregation. With an increase of membership of nearly 600 per cent., the District of Columbia branch will develop into an effective, unified, progressive and militant adjunct to the resources of the parent body.

INDIANAPOLIS

OFFICERS

Mrs. Mary E. Cable.....	President
Miss Lucinda Hayden.....	First Vice-President
Miss Beulah Porter.....	Second Vice-President
Mrs. Sallie B. Henderson, 2850 Boulevard Place.....	Secretary
Mrs. Cora Willis.....	Treasurer

EXECUTIVE BOARD

Miss Clara G. Perry	Miss Etta Simms
Miss Louise A. Royall	Mrs. M. E. Norrell
Miss Fanny Brown	

This branch was the first to pledge and the second to contribute \$100 to the salary of the attorney. It conducted an active campaign against segregation, holding meetings and sending letters and petitions of protest to Washington. It has held successful meetings throughout the year and added many new members.

KANSAS CITY

OFFICERS

Mr. Woody E. Jacobs.....	President
Mr. H. O. Cook.....	Vice-President
Mr. George K. Williams.....	Secretary (2008 North Sixth Street, Kansas City, Kan.)
Miss Myrtle F. Todd.....	Treasurer

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mr. H. O. Cook, Chairman	Mr. John Love
Mr. George F. Porter	Mr. I. F. Bradley
Miss Anna Jones	Miss Sarah Porter
Dr. Lloyd E. Bailor	

This branch has waged a successful fight against the anti-intermarriage bill before the legislature. It also made an effective protest against the proposed segregation ordinance in Kansas City, Mo., with the result that the ordinance has not been reported to the council and the committee that has it in charge has promised not to consider it further.

At the mass meeting held to protest against segregation in the departments at Washington resolutions were adopted and wired to the President and over 100 letters were sent to Congressmen. Other successful mass meetings were held during the year, with such representative speakers as Mr. Charles Edward Russell, Mr. James L. Usher and the Rev. H. H. Proctor.

The branch has co-operated with the Board of Education in its attempt to reduce the number of saloons in colored neighborhoods. It has materially bettered conditions near the Lincoln High School and the Wendell Phillips High School.

The branch was represented by two delegates at the Missouri State Conference of Associated Charities. These representatives were successful in securing for the colored people a fairer distribution of public funds and in establishing an industrial home for colored girls.

MUSKOGEE

OFFICERS

Mr. J. E. Johnson.....	President
Mr. W. Scott Brown, Jr.....	Recording Secretary
Mrs. G. L. Prince.....	Corresponding Secretary
Mr. J. W. Sharpe.....	Treasurer

ADVISORY BOARD

Judge Farrar L. McCain	Mr. William Bain
Judge Thos. W. Leahy	Mr. John D. Benedict
Mr. O. A. Wells	

NEW YORK

The National Association has never had a branch, in the technical sense, in the city of New York. Because of the fact that the national headquarters were located in that city, it was felt that a separate branch might complicate the problems confronting it there and might lead to duplication of work. A New York Vigilance Committee was therefore organized, for the purpose of dealing with certain definite and limited problems of discrimination on account of race and color. This committee, organized in 1911, has for three years carried on a vigorous campaign against all such forms of discrimination, under the direction of its Executive Secretary, Mr. Gilchrist Stewart. The extent of its labors may be judged from the fact that in one year alone it investigated and handled 416 cases. Upon the appointment of an attorney to take charge of all the legal work of the Association, during the autumn of this year, it was felt that all such cases of discrimination could more advantageously and economically be dealt with by him; and upon motion of Dr. Spingarn the Board of Directors, in October, voted to disband the New York Vigilance Committee, and appointed a committee to consider the whole problem of the organization of a New York branch, with a membership of its own, working along the lines adopted by all the other branches of the Association. This committee has not yet reported, and in the meanwhile the local cases of discrimination are being looked after by the attorney of the Association. The more important work of the Vigilance Committee during the present year is included in the annual report of the attorney. During its three years of existence the committee was financed entirely by itself without outside aid; and the effective work it performed for our cause

deserves a real tribute, now that it has ceased to maintain a separate entity of its own.

ORANGE

OFFICERS

Rev. James E. Churchman.....	President
Dr. Woodson	Vice-President
Mrs. Kathryn Williams.....	Secretary (18 Sussex Avenue, East Orange, N. J.)
Mr. Fred. Buford.....	Assistant Secretary
Mr. W. P. Burrell.....	Treasurer

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Rev. W. P. Lawrence	Mrs. Louisa Pinnewell
Dr. W. G. Alexander	Mr. William Easley
Rev. W. H. Jackson	

PHILADELPHIA

OFFICERS

Mr. Ellwood Heacock.....	President
Dr. E. W. Johnson.....	First Vice-President
Mr. James H. Williams.....	Second Vice-President
Mrs. S. W. Layten, 1506 Catherine Street.....	Secretary
Mr. R. R. Porter Bradford.....	Treasurer

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mr. R. R. Wright, Jr.	Rev. E. W. Moore
Mrs. Mary Murdah	Hon. George H. White
Rev. John McCallum	Miss Frances Bartholomew
Rabbi Eli Mayer	Mrs. Addie G. Dickerson
Bishop J. S. Caldwell	

The Philadelphia branch has been co-operating with Mr. G. Edward Dickerson, an attorney, since April, 1913, in an attempt to defend Frederick Brown, a colored man charged with murder. Brown was doing a prosperous business in Philadelphia as a barber when a colored man coming into his shop one day recognized him as the man accused of a murder committed seven years ago in South Carolina. This man got in communication with the South Carolina authorities, who immediately tried to extradite Brown. Fearing that Brown would be lynched if he was returned to the State of South Carolina, a desperate fight has been made to secure a guarantee of a fair and impartial trial, and to test the Negro's rights to protection under the constitution of South Carolina when the governor of the State refuses to guarantee such protection.

The case has been taken through the Pennsylvania State courts, the United States District Court, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, and appeal has now been filed in the Supreme Court of the United States. Proceedings, now nearly a year old, are likely to continue for two years more before the Supreme

Court makes its final decision. In the meantime Brown is in prison in the Pennsylvania County Prison, as bail cannot be accepted under the charge.

PROVIDENCE

OFFICERS

Dr. J. J. Robinson.....	President
Mr. J. C. Minkins.....	First Vice-President
Rev. C. C. Alleyne.....	Second Vice-President
Mr. Frederic Carter.....	Third Vice-President
Miss Reberta J. Dunbar, 58 Winter Street.....	Secretary
Rev. Zechariah Harrison.....	Treasurer

EXECUTIVE BOARD

Mr. J. C. Minkins, Chairman	Dr. A. L. Jackson
Mr. James Dixon	Mr. William P. H. Freeman
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QUINCY

OFFICERS

Dr. H. J. Nichols.....	President
Mrs. Florence E. Cook, 522 Maple Street.....	Secretary
Mr. Henry Carr.....	Treasurer

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mr. William Roberts	Prof. J. W. Tritt
Mrs. Susan Golden	Mr. Wilson Cobb
Prof. R. A. Roberts	Mrs. F. G. Munday

Although at the time Quiney was our smallest branch, it generously contributed \$100 to the salary of the attorney. This meant hard work and much sacrifice. No contribution which has been received at headquarters was more appreciated. The branch has held a number of successful meetings, with Mr. Charles Edward Russell, Mr. Charles T. Hallinan and others as speakers.

ST. PAUL

OFFICERS

Col. J. H. Davidson.....	President
Mrs. Lillian A. Turner, 386 North St. Albans.....	Secretary
Mr. Lonis Nash.....	Treasurer

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mr. Hugh F. Halbert	Mr. O. C. Hall
Dr. Parley P. Womer	Mr. J. H. Loomis
Rabbi Rypins	Judge Grier M. Orr
Mrs. T. H. Lyles	Mrs. Bryant
Mr. Jose H. Sherwood	Mr. George W. James
Mr. W. T. Francis	Mr. J. Q. Adams
Dr. Val Do Turner	

SEATTLE

OFFICERS

Mrs. Letitia A. Graves.....	President
Mr. G. W. Jones.....	Vice-President
Mrs. Zoe Graves Young.....	Recording Secretary
Mrs. W. L. Presto, 1818 30th Avenue, Corresponding Secretary	
Mr. G. O. Allen.....	Treasurer

EXECUTIVE BOARD

Mr. G. W. Thompson	Mrs. S. D. Stone
Mr. Lee A. Hankins	Mr. A. R. Black
Mr. B. F. Tutt	Mr. S. H. Stone

TACOMA

OFFICERS

Mr. J. A. Nelson.....	President
Mr. D. H. Parker.....	Vice-President
Mrs. Nettie J. Asberry.....	Corresponding Secretary
(1219 South 13th Street)	
Mr. J. K. Crump.....	Recording Secretary
Mrs. T. J. Saddler.....	Assistant Secretary
Mrs. B. L. Gaston.....	Treasurer

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Rev. H. M. Collins	Rev. R. L. Winn
Mr. S. A. Johnson	Mrs. Nettie J. Asberry
Mrs. B. L. Gaston	Mr. J. K. Crump

This branch, organized under the name of the Du Bois Liberty League, was chartered by the National Association on January 17, 1913. Its first work upon organizing was to raise among its small membership a contribution of \$100 to the salary of the attorney.

Not satisfied with a single meeting in commemoration of emancipation, the Tacoma branch arranged a three days' celebration. The mass meeting held on the opening night was devoted to Lincoln's life. On the two succeeding nights the progress of the American Negro was considered. Prominent speakers, both white and colored, including representatives from Seattle, made addresses. In connection with the celebration the branch gave a small art exhibit.

When the anti-intermarriage bill appeared in the legislature the branch appointed a committee of three to take the matter in charge. This committee, with a committee from Seattle, went to Olympia to confer with the Legislative Committee. For some time Tacoma kept a man at Olympia to watch the interests of the colored people. The result of all this work was that the bill was not reported out of committee.

During the month of May the branch arranged a series of lectures for Dr. Du Bois, which were brilliantly successful. His message was a revelation to many of the colored people. It made a profound impression and aroused deep interest in the

National Association. The result of his lecture in Seattle was the organization of the Seattle branch.

No branch has done more effective work against segregation in government departments than Tacoma. Mass meetings were held in the three largest white churches, with most distinguished white and colored speakers, and the branch arranged a series of meetings in the nearby cities of Seattle, Everett and Ogden. Letters, telegrams and protests from all these places poured into Congress. All the meetings received considerable notice in the press.

In addition to these anti-segregation meetings the branch held other successful meetings during the year, and also an anniversary banquet to celebrate its first birthday.

TALLADEGA

OFFICERS

Professor William Pickens.....	President
Dr. E. H. Jones.....	Vice-President
Mr. E. E. Lightner, Talladega College.....	Secretary
Mr. Hampton Taylor.....	Treasurer

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Dr. E. H. Jones, Chairman	Rev. W. L. Boyd
Dr. J. P. Barton	Mr. V. A. Brockman
Dr. F. W. Terry	Rev. A. T. Clark

This branch, which has just been organized, has the honor of being our most Southern outpost. It has as its President Mr. William Pickens, principal of Talladega College, known for his brilliant work in Harvard and as the author of "The Heir of Slaves."

TOPEKA

OFFICERS

Mr. Arthur Capper.....	President
Mrs. Julia B. Roundtree, 1317 Van Buren Street.....	Secretary
Rev. George G. Walker.....	Treasurer

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mr. Nathaniel Sawyer	Rev. Charles G. Fishback
Mr. Patrick H. Coney	Dr. O. A. Taylor
Mr. James H. Guy	Mr. A. G. Hagan

The branch has held many successful meetings. Its first achievement was raising \$100 as a contribution to the lawyer's salary. As in Tacoma, this was accomplished immediately after organization. Before it was permanently organized the branch did effective work in helping to defeat the anti-intermarriage bill before the Kansas legislature.

The branch has succeeded in getting a series of very excellent articles relating to colored people published in the Topeka

Daily Capital. Through conferences with the editors of other papers the tone of news relating to colored people has materially modified, so that now mention of race is generally omitted in accounts of crime. For some time certain real-estate advertisements contained obnoxious allusions to colored people, with the object of prohibiting them from purchasing land. Owing to the efforts of the branch these no longer appear in the best papers of Topeka.

TRENTON

OFFICERS

Rev. J. A. White.....	President
Mr. Nathan Hovington.....	Vice-President
Mr. T. Edward Kinney, 33 Barnes Street.....	Secretary
Mr. J. Williams.....	Treasurer
Rev. R. M. Johnson.....	Chaplain

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Dr. Solomon Porter Hood, Chairman	Dr. Howard Bundy
Rev. L. O. Jones	Rev. L. C. Hurdle
Prof. George W. Clark	Mr. John Lewis
Mr. Philip Logan	Mr. William H. Salters
Mr. D. J. Graham	Mr. John M. Herbert

COLLEGE CHAPTERS

CORNELL

OFFICERS

Mr. Sturgis M. Robinson.....	President
Mr. H. B. Murray.....	Vice-President
Mr. Ray P. B. Waller.....	Secretary
Mr. F. Marcellus Staley.....	Corresponding Secretary (Cascadilla Building)
Mr. G. J. Rich.....	Treasurer

HOWARD

Howard University was the first of the college chapters to be chartered. It has most ambitious plans for carrying the propaganda of the Association into other universities and colleges. Many members have been enrolled and successful meetings held. The speakers included Prof. Neval H. Thomas, Mr. Archibald H. Grimké, Mr. W. Ashbie Hawkins, President S. A. Allen and others.

OFFICERS

Mr. S. A. Allen.....	President
Miss Madree Penn.....	Vice-President
Miss Eulalia Lane.....	Recording Secretary
Mr. T. B. Dyett, Howard University.	Corresponding Secretary
Mr. George Brice.....	Treasurer

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESS COMMITTEE FOR 1913

MR. JAMES F. MORTON, JR., of New York, acted as chairman of the Press Committee during the early part of the year, and was successful in getting letters in regard to the color question into many of the leading dailies. These were written by members of the Press Committee at the request of the chairman. Mr. Morton, who is an attorney with many outside interests, was unable to devote the time he thought necessary to the proper expansion of the work and resigned as chairman, still remaining an active member of the committee.

Mr. Charles T. Hallinan, an editorial writer on the Chicago *Evening Post*, who had secured remarkable publicity for our Chicago conference, volunteered to take the position of chairman temporarily. The following is an abstract of his report:

So far as possible a systematic effort has been made to secure publicity. This is a technique, almost a profession, in itself, and we believe that the Association, without resorting to the bizarre methods which have made the term "press agent" a journalistic by-word, may wisely devote special attention to ways and means of getting its aims and activities before the country. This means setting up in the Secretary's office such special "machinery" as will enable us to send out, through the regular news channels, from time to time, news of our activity; to secure special local publicity for local meetings; possibly to prepare and distribute special "plate matter" for the weekly papers, both white and colored; and to press a persistent campaign through the newspapers in order that we may substitute for the current editorial common-places on the race question something a little fresher and truer.

Among the overworked editorial ideas which we hope gradually to retire from excessive newspaper use are:

"Leave the race problem to the South; she understands the colored man."

"The Northerner who goes to live down South soon comes to feel differently about these questions."

"Higher education is all right for the white man, but the colored man should be taught to work."

"In place of the doctrinaire conception of 'equal rights' the South proposes 'equal and separate accommodations.'"

While these plans are still far from complete, much has been done in securing special publicity for:

The Association's letter to President Wilson on segregation in the Federal service.

The report on Federal segregation.

Mr. Villard's addresses at Baltimore and Washington on segregation.

The annual meeting of the Association.

Dr. Spingarn's proposed tour through the Middle West.

Already the Association has a list of 100 papers which have shown a willingness to print news in regard to colored people, and particularly in regard to the work of the Association. Many of these papers were formerly hostile. Most significant was the change of attitude of one of the leading dailies which in the past had always systematically refused to print "a word of our propaganda, since they regarded it as dangerous to the country." Through the efforts of several of our prominent members the owner of this paper has expressed his willingness to give the Association's work the publicity it deserves.

PRESS COMMITTEE

CHARLES T. HALLINAN, Chairman, Glen View, Cook Co., Illinois

Mrs. Ida B. Wells Barnett.....	Chicago, Ill.
Mr. J. Samuel Belhoder.....	New York City
Prof. Franz Boas.....	New York City
Mr. Desha Breckenridge.....	Lexington, Ky.
Rev. W. H. Brooks.....	New York City
Mr. John E. Bruce.....	Yonkers, N. Y.
Dr. Horace Bumstead.....	Brookline, Mass.
Mr. Charles W. Chesnutt.....	Cleveland, O.
Prof. John Dewey.....	New York City
Mr. G. S. Dickerman.....	New Haven, Conn.
Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois.....	New York City
Miss Jessie R. Fauset.....	Philadelphia, Pa.
Mr. Hubert H. Harrison.....	New York City
Principal Leslie P. Hill.....	Cheyney, Pa.
Dr. V. Morton Jones.....	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Mrs. Florence Kelley.....	New York City
Miss Maritcha R. Lyons.....	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Miss Maybelle McAdoo.....	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Rev. Charles Martin.....	New York City
Prof. Kelly Miller.....	Washington, D. C.
Mr. James F. Morton, Jr.....	New York City
Dr. Henry Moskowitz.....	New York City
Mr. Moses Oppenheimer.....	New York City
Miss Mary W. Ovington.....	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Mr. William Pickens.....	Talladega, Ala.
Mr. Charles Edward Russell.....	New York City
Mr. A. D. Schomburg.....	New York City
Mrs. Mary Church Terrell.....	Washington, D. C.
Mr. Edwin C. Walker.....	New York City
Mr. William English Walling.....	New York City
Prof. Burt G. Wilder.....	Siasconset, Mass.
Mrs. Celia Parker Wooley.....	Chicago, Ill.
Rev. R. R. Wright, Jr.....	Philadelphia, Pa.

SPINGARN MEDAL

AT THE annual conference in April, in Philadelphia, Dr. J. E. Spingarn gave the Association a gold medal, not to cost more than \$100, to be awarded for the highest or noblest achievement by an American Negro during the preceding year, upon the following terms and conditions:

The Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People shall select five persons, who may or may not be members of that board, as the Committee of Award, and this committee shall have full charge of the awarding of the medal, and its decision in regard to all matters connected with the medal shall be final.

At the annual conference on the Negro, held under the auspices of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, this medal shall be awarded, with appropriate ceremonies, to the man or woman of African descent and of American citizenship who shall have made the highest achievement during the preceding year in any field of elevated or honorable human endeavor; and the Committee of Award shall decide for itself, in each year, what particular act deserves the highest acclaim; and nothing in this section shall be understood to limit their choice in any way to any one field, whether that field be intellectual, spiritual, physical, scientific, commercial, educational or any other.

The Committee of Award may withhold the award of the medal in any year if no achievement seems to merit an award, and in that event the committee may employ the money so withheld for the creation of one or more medals in the following year or years, to be awarded as a second, third or other prize in accordance with the same principles. The first medal is to be awarded at the next annual conference, in 1914.

COMMITTEE OF AWARD

Bishop John Hurst, Chairman

Hon. William Howard Taft
President John Hope

Dr. James H. Dillard

Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard

TREASURER'S REPORT

January 1 to December 31, 1913

CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

Cash balance, December 31, 1912.....\$1,126.33

RECEIPTS

<i>The Crisis</i>	\$1,314.88
Membership	5,104.27
Gifts	8,690.32
Loans	125.00
Legal fund	1,445.62
Maclean Memorial Fund.....	105.04
Sale of literature.....	30.51
Sale of emancipation seals.....	26.09
 Total receipts	\$16,841.73
Receipts and previous balance.....	\$17,968.06

EXPENDITURES

<i>The Crisis</i>	\$1,346.34
Furniture and fixtures.....	278.31
General expenses	2,373.07
Literature	35.32
Printing	1,016.08
Salaries	8,075.46
Emancipation seals	50.00
Traveling expenses	1,301.27
Loans repaid	405.00
Legal work	1,318.53
 Total expenditures	\$16,200.08

Balance on hand, December 31, 1913

Legal fund	\$729.84
Maclean Memorial Fund.....	402.00
General cash	636.14
	\$1,767.98

THE LAST WORD IN CASTE

By DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

IT IS now nearly a quarter of a century since the South presented to the nation a new and plausible method of settling the Negro problem. The argument is familiar to all: "Take the Negro out of politics; train him for work and particularly for farm work. The result will be the disappearance of the Negro problem." This prophecy has not been fulfilled.

Disfranchisement has been carried through ruthlessly. In Louisiana, for instance, less than 1 per cent. of the colored men 21 years of age are registered, although over half of the Negro population in that State can read and write. This situation is typical of most of the gulf States. In the border States a larger number vote, but still the great majority of adult male Negroes are disfranchised in the South.

It was promised that in return for such disfranchisement the Negro was to have educational and economic rights.

The last study of "The Negro Common School" made by Atlanta University sums up the Negro educational situation by saying:

1. That the overwhelming majority of Negro children of school age are not in school.
2. That the chief reason for this is the lack of school facilities; and a further reason is the poverty and ignorance of parents.
3. That those Negro children who are in school are, as a rule, poorly taught by half-prepared and poorly paid teachers and through short terms of three to six months a year.
4. That the schoolhouses and equipment for Negro schools are for the most part wretched and inadequate.
5. That the Negro schools, as a rule, receive little or no helpful superintendence from the school authorities.

6. That the result and apparently one of the objects of disfranchisement has been to cut down the Negro school fund, bar out competent teachers, lower the grade and efficiency of the course of study, and employ as teachers in the Negro schools those willing tools who do not and will not protest or complain.

7. That in the attempt to introduce much needed and valuable manual and industrial training there has been introduced into the curriculum of the Negro common school a mass of ill-considered, unrelated work, which has overburdened the teacher and pushed into the background the vital studies of reading, writing and arithmetic. In a large measure this has been done with the avowed object of training Negroes as menials and laborers and of cutting them off from the higher avenues of life.

8. That the forward movement in education in the South during the last ten years has been openly confined almost entirely to white people. The movement for local school taxes, better high schools, consolidation of schools and transportation of children has, with small exception, been encouraged and made possible among the whites and not among the Negroes. In many cases the Negroes have been taxed for the improvement of white school facilities, while their own schools have not been allowed to share in these improvements.

9. That along with this curtailment of elementary public education for Negroes has gone a tendency to deify the work of those schools which are devoted to the higher training of the Negro youth, to lower their curricula, to cut off Northern benevolence and to decrease the supply of intellectual leaders for the Negro race.

Even with these patent facts staring the nation in the face most people have come to the idea that at least the economic rights of the Negro are secure, and many have been willing to say not only, "Give up the ballot," but also, "Give up educational ideals, so long

as the race learns to work efficiently and accumulate property, particularly as farmers." Let us now ask what have been results here?

So far as work is concerned we again find the barriers up and not tending to fall. The attempt to establish a strict caste of occupations in the South has not been successful, but it has been possible to keep the majority of Negroes in the most disagreeable and poorest-paid occupations, and in the lowest positions of most occupations. The Negro has pushed his way into some skilled occupations, but it has been a long and tedious fight. It is therefore wrong to assume that economic opportunity has been opened to the Negro with any great degree of freedom. But this is true: The South has been advancing in wealth at a phenomenal rate during the last two or three decades. It has been impossible, particularly in cities, to withhold some of the economic advantages of this great advance from the colored workers. The result has been a great increase of property holding among Negroes in cities and towns.

Unfortunately there are no complete figures to illustrate this as a whole, but a few facts and localities throw some light upon it. The property of the Negro church situated chiefly in Negro cities increased 115 per cent. between 1890 and 1906. The town and city property of the Negroes of Georgia increased nearly 100 per cent. between 1890 and 1907. In Virginia the town and city property of colored people increased from an assessed value of four millions in 1899 to nine and one-half millions in 1911. There is reason to believe that throughout the United States the increase of Negro city property has been very large in the last ten years.

The chief reason for this conclusion is unfortunately the increase of the city segregation movement. In other words, just as soon as the Negro city laborer, working on a wage scale lower than that of any other single group of people, saved out of his meagre earnings enough to move out of the alleys and slums to

the front streets, there immediately arose the question as to who should bear the economic cost of race prejudice. Most people in their careless indulgence in race prejudice forget this economic cost. It shows itself in the social cost of crime, prostitution and slums, and it shows itself in the fall of values when a socially despised group moves into a decent neighborhood. That such a movement results in a real financial loss no one denies or attempts to deny. But the question is who shall bear the loss?

This segregation movement, as illustrated in Baltimore and many other Southern cities, and as advocated in St. Louis, answers this problem plainly. It proposed to put the whole cost of this economic loss absolutely upon the Negroes. That this is unjust goes without saying. They, of all parties, are the ones who should be exempt from any loss. But even here it has not been altogether easy to gain the sympathy of right-minded Americans. They have said: "It is largely a social matter," and "Let the Negroes develop their own settlements," forgetting the absolute injustice and preposterous demand which such an attitude makes. A further argument is, however: "Let the Negro stop crowding into the cities. Here they have in the country and in the South a wonderful chance for development. They can get hold of land; they know how to raise a great staple crop and many auxiliary crops. Here is an open economic field; let them take advantage of it."

It must not be thought that the Negroes themselves or their friends have been unaware of the economic chance of the Negro in Southern agriculture, but they have been trying to say that even in the country the economic man of to-day must be backed by social and political rights, else the fruit of his labor is not safe.

I doubt if in modern economic history the truth of this proposition has been more clearly proven than in the recent history of the Negro race in America. Here is a people which has been asked to give up its political and social rights in order to achieve economic freedom.

Despite the protest of a few far-seeing men among them the race has virtually done this. They have let themselves be deprived of the vote almost without a struggle, and they have openly and slavishly acknowledged that they are not fit associates for their fellow men, and they have hoped by reason of this craven surrender to earn a living, accumulate property and achieve finally the recognition of their fellow men. The result has been that their educational opportunities have been curtailed rather than expanded. Their right to work has been admitted but slowly and grudgingly among all but the lowest and worst-paid occupations. And their right to accumulate property in cities is threatened to-day with serious curtailment. With this astonishing record as an answer to the program of twenty years ago, what is the present situation of the Negro with regard to agricultural land in the South? Here, indeed, we reach the last boundaries in the question. Let us bring to mind once more what has been said and promised in the past.

The movement fathered by men like the late Morris K. Jesup and Robert Ogden stated to the world and said with conviction: "You have here 10,000,000 inferior folk. You have got to stop treating them like ordinary white humanity and treat them as Negroes. You must educate them for work, and particularly for farm labor, and when you do that you will find the white South meeting you more than half way and willing to agree to accord the Negroes every economic right which they deserve." Not only did the overwhelming public opinion of the North believe and acknowledge this policy, but many colored people acquiesced in it with enthusiasm.

Consequently the movement toward farm life among Negroes in the last decade has been phenomenal. While farms conducted by white farmers have increased 9½ per cent. between 1900 and 1910, farms conducted by colored farmers have increased nearly 20 per cent. There were 7½ per cent. more white farmers conducting their farms in 1910 than in 1900, but there were

17 per cent. more colored owners conducting their farms. The land in Negro farms increased from 42,000,000 to 47,000,000 acres in that time, and the land in the hands of Negro farm owners from 16,000,000 to 19,000,000 acres. To-day 29 per cent. of the farms in the South are conducted by colored men, not counting the vast number of farms conducted by white men with colored labor. This would seem to be most encouraging, and especially so when we remember under what difficulties it has been accomplished.

In the country the disfranchisement of the Negro was completest; in the country the task idea of slavery lasted longest, and in the country new legislation did everything it could to reduce the black farmhand into peonage. To-day in many rural districts of the gulf States the refusal of a colored man to work for a white man on any terms which the white man wishes to make can without great difficulty be made a penitentiary offence and the colored man sent as a slave of the State to work in chains for a large part of his natural life.

The revolt of the black laborer, however, makes this program impossible. He could not strike for higher wages, but he could run away to town, and he did in such numbers that labor scarcity was the cry of the plantations, and harsh contract and vagrancy laws were passed. The most effective bait, however, to keep the laborer was to sell him land on installments. In nine cases out of ten he was unable to keep his contract and remained a laborer. But in the tenth case he got his land. Sometimes he was helped by the better class landlords, by his relatives in the North, by the breaking up of big plantations, and in a few cases by philanthropy.

In these ways the value of the farm property owned by Negroes between 1900 and 1910 increased from \$108,000,000 to \$440,000,000, or 145 per cent. During this same time the farm property of whites throughout the country increased but 93 per cent., and

the farm property of Southern whites increased 108 per cent. This increase in value is shown in the land, which went from \$102,000,000 to \$277,000,000, or 172 per cent.; in the buildings, which went from \$29,000,000 to \$69,000,000, or 142 per cent.; in implements and machinery, which went from \$8,000,000 to \$16,000,000, or 90 per cent., and in live stock, which increased 92 per cent., or from \$41,000,000 to \$78,000,000.

Negro land ownership has increased from about 3,000,000 acres in 1875 to 6,000,000 acres in 1880, to 8,000,000 acres in 1890, to 15,000,000 in 1900, and nearly 20,000,000 in 1910.

This is most gratifying, and if the prophets of the past were correct we would expect to hear a chorus of congratulation and good will from the best friends of the Negro in the South. We would expect an argument something like this: "You see, we have kept our word in the main issue. We have disfranchised the Negro, and while we have not given him large educational opportunity, and have kept him in his place in the industrial world, nevertheless, he has become a householder in the cities (although there we must limit him), and especially he has become fifty years after emancipation a landholder in the United States by his own unaided efforts. This shows the wisdom of our policy."

When, however, we come forward prepared to hear this argument and to answer its weak places, for it has weak places, we find on the part of the dominant South not only absence of all enthusiasm for this increase of Negro agricultural well being, but a distinct air of disappointment and something worse. Indeed, this air of disappointment is so widespread that one cannot help wondering if the Negro has not been urged to take advantage of Southern agriculture just because some Southerners were convinced that he could not take such advantage, and that in the country districts of the South he could be held in his place politically, socially and economically.

It would be unfair to assume this without undoubted proof, and such proof comes to us unfortunately from North Carolina. In order to understand that development in North Carolina, let us just look at some significant figures.

Farms owned by Negroes in North Carolina have increased in the decade from 17,000 to 21,000, and the land from 965,000 acres to 1,200,000 acres; not only has there been this numerical increase, but while all farm property in North Carolina increased 130 per cent., Negro farm property increased 211 per cent., or from \$9,000,000 to \$27,000,000; and the value of the land alone increased from \$5,000,000 to \$17,000,000, or 220 per cent.

Has this caused any rejoicing in North Carolina? I regret to say it has not. On the contrary, it has led to widespread proposal for the most vital attack on the economic rights of the Negro ever put forward in the United States. Let no one misconceive the significance of this. The Negro was asked to give up his political rights for the sake of advance. He finds that with the giving up of his political rights his educational rights are curtailed, the right to work is increased but inadequately, his right to hold property in cities is being questioned, and now, finally, there is a movement in the South to curtail his right to own agricultural land. This movement has not started with an ignorant agitator of the Blease and Vardaman and Tillman type. Its sponsor is Clarence Poe, editor of the *Progressive Farmer*, and a man representing in many ways the best traditions of the South.

Mr. Poe began his campaign last summer in the *Progressive Farmer*, a weekly paper with a wide circulation among the most intelligent farmers all over the South. As a result of this campaign week after week, a growing mass of white farmers are crying with one of Poe's correspondents:

"North Carolina and the South for the white race should be the slogan from now henceforth."

Or as another says: "Mr. Clarence Poe's suggestions that the Negro buy land adjoining and settle in communities to themselves is a good one and will do more than anything else to adjust the race relations between the whites and blacks of the South. It is the 'Jim Crow' law put into effect in the rural districts."

Mr. Poe suggested that the Negro should be separated from the whites in the country districts by a law prohibiting future sale of land to him in white communities. His suggestion took immediate root, and a third correspondent writes: "Negro children are not allowed to attend school with whites; Negroes do not sit in the same cars, loaf in the same depots and feed at the same hotels as the white folks. Why, then, should landlords be allowed to impose them on white farmers and ruin entire sections of the country?"

Mr. Poe then began to carefully fortify and elaborate his original proposition:

"Everybody knows that the Negroes stand together. They are notoriously clannish in everything. They help one another even to the extent of shielding Negro criminals from the law.

"But while the Negroes have been pulling together in this way, what has been the attitude of our white people in the vital matters of saving the rural South to the white race? Everybody knows that the shameful and disgraceful fact is that the white people have not been pulling together, but that the white city land owner and merchant has too often practically taken sides against the struggling white tenant and small farmer and in favor of the Negro. I once said to a big plantation owner living in Memphis who had lands in Mississippi: 'What Mississippi needs is fewer big plantations cultivated by Negro tenants and more thrifty, enterprising, industrious white farmers—more white people. Why don't you try to get white tenants?' 'I don't want them,' he replied. 'They won't spend money and run accounts at our stores like the Negroes will, and, besides, they soon want

to buy land themselves. The Negroes make more money for us.’”

A friend writes him elaborating this argument: “I believe the great trouble is with a certain class of white land owners. They have Negro tenants on their lands who are, in fact, really peons. They furnish their tenants everything in the spring at high rates and in the fall take everything at low rates. I have in mind a certain Negro who purchased a mule worth about \$90 for \$150, and after fifteen years of hard work the mule died without being paid for. In the meantime the white man got all the Negro made. Such land owners don’t want intelligent white tenants. They want those whom they can use to their advantage. They are the ones who have sold land at exorbitant prices to Negroes thinking, perhaps, they could not pay for it.”

Here is evidently a situation calling for remedy. A modern reformer would suggest the uprooting of peonage and the company-store system; co-operative buying of large tracts of land. But this remedy is far from these men’s minds, and we discover that if the peon escapes and becomes an independent small farmer and land-owner that he is, if anything, even more objectionable.

“The Negroes first ran us out because some white people moved to town, became merchants who furnished supplies for the Negro to make their crops, and now have sold their country land to them in farms containing twenty, thirty and forty acres, and occasionally 100 acres or more. They sometimes give them a long time for payment, the Negroes seldom getting out of debt until they go to the public works to get out. They settle on these farms, have large families generally, and simply crowd us out, causing us to seek a village or town where white people can co-operate, have schools and churches, and where it is understood that no Negroes own lots mixed with white people.”

Poe therefore drops the subject of the wretched underpaid and ruthlessly exploited peonage and addresses himself to this dangerous newcomer:

"Briefly I should say that the law we need is one which will say that wherever the greater part of the land acreage in any given district that may be laid off is owned by one race, a majority of the voters in such a district may say (if they wish) that in future no land shall be sold to a person of a different race, provided such action is approved or allowed (as being justified by considerations of the peace, protection and social life of the community) by a reviewing judge or board of county commissioners."

He goes on to develop his thought: "Atlanta has just passed a law saying that a majority of property owners in a city block can say that in future no land shall be sold to a person of a different race from them. Why, then, cannot Georgia or any other State pass a law giving a similar privilege to its country people? Why can it not be said that where there is a white community and the majority of white land owners wish to keep their community white, they can lay off a district in which it will be unlawful to sell to a person of a different race? And since the same privilege would be given Negroes where they own land, the law could not be said to discriminate against any race; and the whites would lose little because they do not care to buy in communities wholly surrounded by Negroes anyhow."

This has a certain semblance of even-handed justice. Mr. Poe says: "It may be argued, I know, that such a law is unjust, that with the government of the South as it is, it could be utilized by white people to keep their communities white, but the Negroes would rarely be able to use it to keep their communities wholly Negro. All of which I admit is possible, and yet, as I have said, I believe it is just."

Why would the Negro "rarely be able" to make a wholly Negro community? Because Negroes do not

vote, cannot select county commissioners, and consequently could not drive out the whites. Nevertheless, Mr. Poe is not moved.

"Studying it with all possible desire for truth and justice, I repeat, therefore, I cannot see that it is right or just to say that because a white majority shall have the right to limit future land sales to their race, a Negro majority must everywhere have exactly the same privilege."

The difficulty is that Mr. Poe has his eye on the landlords of the black belt where a few land barons still drive their slaves with the lash. He wants to reassure them that no matter if the blacks outnumber them ten to one they are not to be disturbed in their reign.

But Mr. Poe's correspondents are not so canny. One of them says: "It is the gravest problem confronting us of the South to-day—this selling land promiscuously to the Negro race. In my neighborhood the white school population is twelve. The Negro school population is 140. Can I be satisfied to raise my children under such conditions? I am trying to sell out. I have been offered \$12,000 cash for my farm by a Negro. It is worth \$20,000 and would bring it if the surroundings were different."

At this we rub our eyes. If the Negro population outnumbers the white ten to one, surely this is the place, if any, for the white man to move. But this man does not want to move. What does he want there? Does he want the Negroes to go? No, but he wants them kept down. He does not even want to allow them the advantage of their disadvantages. As one says: "In protecting their home and social life, it is necessary for our rural white people to use some extraordinary measures to offset the Negroes' advantages in driving them out. In the first place, the Negro can live on less than the white man, and, therefore, if he is doing the same kind of work, he has this economic advantage over the white man."

Mr. Poe now appears in the offing again and serves this new argument: "It is Negro cheap labor that has ruined the South." "Why is Southern agriculture so far behind the North?" he asks.

The answer is easy. "The man in the North was driven to do his own work because he did not have scores of Negroes to do it, and this caused him to look around and seek other means with which to do it. And see how he has profited because he has always had to do his own labor, and see the great rut we now find ourselves in because we had plenty of Negroes to do our work, and therefore did not need to seek to improve our farm labor conditions as our Northern neighbor did."

The answer to this would seem obvious; make Negro labor dearer by turning it into an independent farm-owning class. But no, Mr. Poe will have none of this, but reports this case:

"I was reared and am now living in a community that only a few years ago was famed for its social features—live, well-filled churches and schools. But alas! it is hopelessly ruined. Churches and schools can hardly hold together. There are three non-resident land owners who are responsible for it all. This being a very fertile section, they have bought most of the land and want only Negro tenants. The land is unsurpassed for fertility by any section in several miles radius, and therefore has induced *the best type of Negroes* to cultivate it; *but, nevertheless, they are Negroes* and have completely destroyed the social features of the community." (The italics are ours.)

It would seem from this that there is no place on earth for the best Negroes either as tenants or land owners. Their very presence destroys all real life. "We might as well admit," says Mr. Poe, "the argument that the present wholesale sandwiching of whites and Negroes in our rural districts is perhaps the main thing in the way of developing rural co-operation in the South. If we can once get groups of wholly white communities, it will be far easier to get the farmers

in them to pull together; whereas, at present, the white people in the South are too scattered to win success with 10,000 co-operative enterprises that would succeed if white farmers were grouped together. And especially does the present sandwiching of whites and Negroes militate against education—against good schools for both races."

But if educational justice is not done to the Negro in the white community, will it be done anywhere? One Negro correspondent is in despair. He writes: "If we own a good farm or horse or cow, dog or yoke of oxen, we are harassed until we are bound to sell, give away or run away before we can have any peace of our lives."

Mr. Poe prints this, but with apology and warning: "We may say in this connection that it was our idea in printing the letters from Negroes simply to show what they are saying and thinking, and to give all sides a fair hearing. And if Negroes are bragging that they send their children to school when white people keep theirs away for lack of fine clothes, or because they are shut up in factories, or if they brag that there are white people who can't read and write, and they help them, or that white people won't work and the Negroes will, it will be a mighty good thing if we get mad enough about such boasting to see to it that they shall have no excuse even for saying such things in the future."

Mr. Poe, therefore, repeatedly returns to his original proposal. He has no fear of constitutions.

"It may be that the Atlanta segregation and the similar segregation plans we have suggested for our country districts might be declared in conflict with the Fourteenth Amendment. Some lawyers think so, some do not. But we report that if our people make up their minds that segregation is a good and necessary thing, they will find a way to put it into effect—just as they did in the case of Negro disfranchisement despite an iron-bound amendment specifically designed to prevent it.

"If such a direct law as we proposed last week would be unconstitutional, might not the same result be effected indirectly by saying that no land should be sold to any man in any specified district if a petition against the sale were signed by a majority of the resident land owners in such a district? If a predominantly white community, then it could be understood (or formally declared) that this new law would be invoked only to keep the community white, and so the matter would be settled without further trouble."

It is objected to by some that the plan does not go far enough. For example, the *Knoxville (Tenn.) Sentinel* says that "It seems to have a practical weakness, as so far advanced, that it does not take tenants into account."

"Well, there is no doubt that the indiscriminate renting of land to Negroes by absentee land owners is a crying evil. The letters we have received from all over the South indicate that unmistakably. And yet we do not now see any plan of regulating this evil that would not be susceptible of much abuse. As yet the proportion of white people wanting to rent land is small, and it would not be fair to absolutely limit the renting to white people even in these white communities.

"But it is our confident conviction that if the Negroes should refuse to work where the white people decided upon such a measure of protection, it would only be a form of industrial suicide for them, and after a few months of trouble in working out a new adjustment, the white people would be as well off, or better off, from a labor standpoint than ever before. In the first place, young Southern white men would be willing to go into these all-white communities and work as laborers, and, in the second place, it would not be long until good white labor would come in from other sections."

Here, then, is the culmination of this extraordinary argument:

The South says here: We despise the Negro

because he is down and yet we cannot allow him to rise; we cannot educate him lest he grow intelligent, we cannot allow him in industry lest he compete with us and save money; we cannot allow him to buy property because he will be independent and live beside us; we cannot let him live by himself because we want his labor, and because we dare not give him political power enough to establish and protect his own segregated communities.

The South is not wholly to blame for this logic. The North shares that blame. The high and only tenable ground of the past was: Educate the Negro, give him work and wages, give him civil rights, give him a vote and let him make his own way as a free man.

This ground the North has joined the South in undermining; they have half ruined his schools, they have curtailed his work and lowered his wages, they have made him a legal pariah and social outcast, and now they are coolly proposing to steal the bits of property which by the sweat of his face he has saved.

For stealing it is. Everybody knows that segregation is confiscation. Have we not the shameful treatment of the Indian to prove this?

How fine a program of solving the race problem this is which, after twenty-five years of trumpeting and advertising, lands us right in the same black slough of despond out of which we are just starting to raise the robbed and raped Indian. Fine statesmanship for the twentieth century—fine cowardice for the land of the free.



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